





*Samuel Bosanquet Esq<sup>r</sup>*





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THE  
HISTORY OF GREECE,

FROM THE  
EARLIEST STATE,  
TO THE  
DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

By OLIVER GOLDSMITH, M. B.

TO WHICH IS ADDED, A  
SUMMARY ACCOUNT OF THE AFFAIRS OF GREECE,  
FROM  
THAT PERIOD,  
TO  
THE SACKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE OTHOMANS.

THE TENTH EDITION.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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# HISTORY

OF

# G R E E C E.

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## CHAPTER XIII.

FROM THE BIRTH TO THE DEATH OF PHILIP, KING OF  
MACEDON, CONTINUED.

WHEN Philip found himself shut out of Greece by the Athenians, he turned his arms against those remote places which depended on them, either as colonies, or as conquests; and particularly against the Olynthians, whom he had long looked upon with an evil eye, but whom he had courted and cajoled whilst he was otherwise employed. But he came now resolved entirely to reduce them; and, advancing towards the city, only sent them a short message, to let them know that one of these two points was become necessary—either that they must quit Olynthus, or he Macedonia. Whereupon they sent immediately to Athens for relief. The subject was debated there with great solemnity,

and Demosthenes was very earnest in sending them succours: he was opposed by Demades and Hyperides. The opinion, however, of Demosthenes prevailed; the people of Athens resolved to unite against Philip, but the great difficulty lay in furnishing the supplies; their principal fund, which had formerly served the purposes of war, had long been converted to the use of the stage. The money arising from this fund was computed at a thousand talents a year; and a certain proportion of it was allotted to the citizens to defray the charge of their admittance into the theatre. This distribution having been continued to them from the time of Pericles, they claimed it now as their right, especially since they had lately obtained a law which made it capital to propose the restoring the fund to the uses for which it was originally granted. Hence it was that, upon any pressing emergency, extraordinary taxes were to be raised; and they were laid so unequally, and collected with so much difficulty, that they seldom answered the service for which they were intended.

Demosthenes treated this subject with the utmost art and circumspection. After shewing that the Athenians were indispensably obliged to raise an army, in order to stop the enterprizes of their aspiring enemy, he asserted, that the theatrical fund was the only probable mean of supply. These remonstrances had some

weight, but were not attended with deserved success. The Athenians sent a reinforcement to Olynthus; but Philip, who had corrupted the principal men in the town, entered, plundered it, and sold the inhabitants among the rest of the spoil. His two bastard brothers, who were among the captured, he put to death, as he had formerly done the other. Justin says, that the protection which the Olynthians had given his brothers, was the plea which he used for attacking them. Here he found much treasure, which served to assist him in his further encroachments.

In the mean time the Thebans, being unable alone to terminate the war which they had so long carried on against the Phocians, addressed Philip. Hitherto, as we before mentioned, he had observed a kind of neutrality with respect to the Sacred War, and he seemed to wait for an opportunity of declaring himself; that is, till both parties should have weakened themselves by a long war, which equally exhausted both. The Thebans had now very much abated of that haughtiness, and those ambitious views, with which the victories of Epaminondas had inspired them. The instant, therefore, they requested the alliance of Philip, he resolved to espouse the interest of that republic in opposition to the Phocians. He had not lost sight of the project he had formed of obtaining an entrance into Greece, in order to make himself master of it.



To give success to his design, it was proper for him to declare in favour of one of the two parties, which at that time divided all Greece ; that is, either for the Thebans, or the Athenians and Spartans. He was not so void of sense as to imagine that the latter party would assist his design of carrying his arms into Greece. He therefore had no more to do but to join the Thebans, who offered themselves voluntarily to him, and who stood in need of Philip's power to support themselves in their declining condition ; he therefore declared at once in their favour. But to give a specious colour to his arms, besides the gratitude he affected to have at heart for Thebes, in which he had been educated, he also pretended to make an honour of the zeal with which he was fired with regard to the violated god, and was very glad to pass for a religious prince, who warmly espoused the cause of the god and of the temple of Delphos, in order to conciliate by that means, the esteem and friendship of the Greeks.

There was nothing Philip had more at heart than to possess himself of Thermopylæ, as it opened to him a passage into Greece ; to appropriate all the honour of the Sacred War to himself, as if he had been principal in that affair ; and to preside in the Pythian games. He was therefore desirous of aiding the Thebans, and by their means to possess himself of Phocis. But then, in order to put this double design in



execution, it was necessary for him to keep it secret from the Athenians, who had actually declared war against Thebes, and who, for many years, had been in alliance with the Phocians. His business, therefore, was to make them change their measures, by placing other objects in their view ; and on this occasion the politics of Philip succeeded to a wonder.

The Athenians, who began to grow tired of a war which was very burthensome, and of little benefit to them, had commissioned Ctesiphon and Phrynon to sound the intentions of Philip, and in what manner he stood disposed in regard to peace. These related, that Philip did not appear averse to it ; and that he even expressed a great affection for the commonwealth. Upon this the Athenians resolved to send a solemn embassy to enquire more strictly into the truth of things, and to procure the last explanations previously necessary to so important a negotiation. Æschines and Demosthenes were among the ten ambassadors, who brought back three from Philip, viz. Antipater, Parmenio, and Eurylochus. All the ten executed their commission very faithfully, and gave a very good account of it. Upon this they were immediately sent back with full powers to conclude a peace, and to ratify it by oaths. It was then that Demosthenes, who in his first embassy, had met some Athenian captives in Macedonia, and promised to return and ransom them at his own expence,

endeavoured to enable himself to keep his word; and, in the mean time, advised his colleagues to embark with the utmost expedition, as the republic had commanded, and to wait as soon as possible upon Philip, in what place soever he might be. However, these, instead of making a speedy dispatch, as they were desired, travelled like ambassadors; proceeded to Macedonia by land, staid three months in that country, and gave Philip time to possess himself of several other strong places belonging to the Athenians in Thrace. At last, meeting with the king of Macedonia, they agreed with him upon the articles of peace; but he, having lulled them asleep with the specious pretence of a treaty, deferred the ratification of it from day to day. In the mean time he found means to corrupt the ambassadors, one after another, by presents, Demosthenes excepted; who, being but one, opposed his colleagues to no manner of purpose,

Philip being suffered quietly to pursue his march into Phocis, gained the straits of Thermopylæ, but did not immediately discover what use he intended to make of his entrance into Greece; but went on, according to his agreement with the Thebans, to put an end to the Phocian war, which he easily effected. His name and appearance struck such a terror among the Rhocians, that though they had lately received a reinforcement of a thousand heavy-armed Spar-

tans, under the command of their king, Archidamus, they declined giving him battle, and sent to treat with him, or rather to submit themselves to any terms that he would grant them. He allowed Phalicus to retire with eight thousand men, being mercenaries, into Peloponnesus; but the rest, who were the inhabitants of Phocis, were left at his mercy. As the disposing of them was a matter wherein Greece in general was concerned, he did not think fit to act in it by his own private authority, but referred it to the Amphictyons, whom he caused to be assembled for that purpose. But they were so much under his influence, that they served only to give a sanction to his determinations. They decreed, that all the cities of Phocis should be demolished; that they who had fled, as being principally concerned in the sacrilege, should be stigmatized as accursed, and proscribed as out-laws; that they who remained as inhabitants should be dispersed in villages, and obliged to pay out of their lands a yearly tribute of sixty talents, until the whole of what had been taken out of the temple should be restored: they were likewise adjudged to lose their seat in the council of the Amphictyons, wherein they had a double voice. This Philip got transferred to himself, which was a very material point, and may be looked upon as the principal step towards his gaining that authority which he afterwards exercised in the affairs of Greece. At the same time he gained, in con-

junction with the Thebans and Thessalians, the superintendency of the Pythian games, which the Corinthians had forfeited, for their having taken part with the Phocians.

Philip having, by these plausible methods, succeeded in this expedition, did not think it adviseable, by attempting any thing further at present, to sully the glory he had acquired by it, or to incense the body of the Grecians against him : wherefore he returned in a triumphant manner, to his own dominions. After settling his conquests at home, he marched into Thessaly ; and having extirpated the remains of tyranny in the several cities there, he not only confirmed the Thessalians in his interest, but gained over many of their neighbours.

It was upon this occasion that Philip was remarked for an act of private justice, which far outweighs his public celebrity. A certain soldier in the Macedonian army had, in many instances, distinguished himself by extraordinary acts of valour, and had received many marks of Philip's favour and approbation. On some occasion he embarked on board a vessel, which was wrecked by a violent storm, and he himself cast on the shore helpless and naked, and scarcely with the appearance of life. A Macedonian, whose lands were contiguous to the sea, came opportunely to be a witness of his distress ; and, with all humane and charitable tenderness flew to the relief of the unhappy stranger. He



bore him to his house, laid him in his own bed, revived, cherished, comforted, and for forty days supplied him freely with all the necessities and conveniences which his languishing condition could require. The soldier, thus happily rescued from death, was incessant in the warmest expressions of gratitude to his benefactor, assured him of his interest with the king, and of his power and resolution of obtaining for him, from the royal bounty, the noble returns which such extraordinary benevolence had merited. He was now completely recovered, and his kind host supplied him with money to pursue his journey. Some time after, he presented himself before the king; he recounted his misfortunes, magnified his services, and, having looked with an eye of envy on the possessions of the man who had preserved his life, was now so abandoned to every sense of gratitude, as to request the king to bestow upon him the house and lands where he had been so tenderly and kindly entertained. Unhappily, Philip without examination, inconsiderately and precipitately granted his infamous request; and this soldier now returned to his preserver, repaid his goodness by driving him from his settlement, and taking immediate possession of all the fruits of his honest industry. The poor man, stung with this instance of unparalleled ingratitude and insensibility, boldly determined, instead of submitting to his wrongs, to seek relief; and, in a letter addressed to



Philip, represented his own and the soldier's conduct in a lively and affecting manner. The king was instantly fired with indignation; he ordered that justice should be done without delay; that the possessions should be immediately restored to the man whose charitable offices had been thus horribly repaid; and, having seized the soldier, caused these words to be branded on his forehead, *The ungrateful Guest*: a character infamous in every age, and among all nations; but particularly among the Greeks, who, from the earliest times, were most scrupulously observant of the laws of hospitality.

Having strengthened himself in these parts, he went the next year into Thrace, where he had formed a design against the Chersonese. This peninsula had, with some little interruption, been for many years in the hands of the Athenians; but Cotys, as being king of the country, had lately wrested it from them, and left it in succession to his son Chersobleptes. He not being able to defend himself against Philip, gave it back to the Athenians, reserving to himself only Cardia, the capital city. But Philip having soon after spoiled him of the rest of his dominions, the Cardians, for fear of falling again under the power of the Athenians, threw themselves into his protection. Diopithes, who was the chief of the Athenian colony lately sent to the Chersonese, considered this proceeding of Philip, in supporting the Cardians, as an act

of hostility against Athens ; whereupon he invaded the maritime parts of Thrace, and carried away a great deal of booty. Philip being at this time in the upper part of the country, was not in a condition to do himself justice : but he wrote to complain of it at Athens, as an infraction of the peace ; and his creatures there were not wanting, on their part to aggravate the charge against Diopithes, as having acted without orders, and having taken it upon himself to renew the war : they likewise accused him of committing acts of piracy, and of laying their allies under contribution. But whatever grounds there were for this part of the accusation, the government of Athens was principally to blame in it ; for having no proper fund for the wars, they sent out their generals without money or provisions, and left them to shift for themselves, and yet made them answerable for any miscarriages that should happen, for want of their being better supplied. This was a great discouragement to the service, and put those who were employed in it upon pillaging and plundering, in such a manner as they would otherwise have been ashamed of. Demosthenes, in an harangue that he made upon the state of the Chersonese, undertook the defence of Diopithes. That harangue throws much light on the state of Athens, and indeed of most of the Grecian territories at that time. It is the foundation of the other orations of Demosthenes, which go by the title of Philippics.

The leading arguments in it are, That Diopithes was necessitated to do what he did at Chersonese: and, if blame was due any where, it was to the Athenians, who sent out their commanders so badly provided. That Diopithes was so far from being culpable, that he even merited the thanks of the state, for having been so fruitful in resources, and for having asserted the rights and privileges of the colony which he went to protect. That the colonists had suffered nothing by his proceedings, but had rather gained by them, being since taken under the protection of the Athenians, and having their coasts defended against the ravages of pirates. He also insisted, that the drift of the accusation that had been brought against Diopithes, was not in reality to procure redress for the mischiefs that had been done by that general, but to divert the attention of the state from the deep-laid plots, and ruinous machinations, of the accuser himself, who was then fabricating chains for all Greece.

Philip, however, was no way intimidated at the wordy resistance of his eloquent antagonist; he went on with artful industry, quelling those by his power who were unable to resist, and those by his presents whom he was unable to oppose. The divisions that then subsisted in Peloponnesus, gave him a pretext for intermeddling in the affairs of the Greek confederacy. These divisions were chiefly owing to the Spartans; who, having little to do in the

late foreign transactions, were recovering their strength at home ; and, according to their usual practice, as they increased in power, making use of it to insult and oppress their neighbours. The Argives and Messenians being at this time persecuted by them, put themselves under the protection of Philip ; and the Thebans joining with them, they all together formed a powerful confederacy. The natural balance against it, was an union between Athens and Sparta, which the Spartans pressed with great earnestness, as the only means for their common security ; and Philip and the Thebans did all in their power to prevent it. But Demosthenes exerting himself upon this occasion, roused up the Athenians, and put them so far upon their guard, that, without coming to an open rupture with Philip, they obliged him to desist.

Philip, however, did not continue idle upon this disappointment. Ever restless and enterprising, he turned his views another way. He had long considered the island of Eubœa as proper, from its situation, to favour the designs he meditated against Greece ; and in the very beginning of his reign, he had attempted to possess himself of it. He, indeed, set every engine to work at that time, in order to seize upon that island, which he called the shackles of Greece. But it nearly concerned the Athenians, on the other side, not to suffer it to fall into the hands of an enemy, especially as it



might be joined to the continent of Attica by a bridge: however, that people, according to their usual custom, continued indolent, whilst Philip pursued his conquests without intermission. The latter, who was continually attentive and vigilant, endeavoured to procure intelligence from the island; and, by dint of presents, bribed those who had the greatest authority in it. At the request of certain of the inhabitants, he sent some troops privately thither, possessed himself of several strong places, dismantled Porthmos, a very important fortress in Eubœa, and established three tyrants, or kings, over the country.

The Athenians were conjured, in this distressing juncture, by one Plutarch, who was at that time upon the island, to come and preserve the inhabitants from the yoke which Philip was going to impose upon them. Upon this, they dispatched a few troops thither under the command of Phocion, a general of whom great expectations were formed, and whose conduct well deserved the favourable opinion the public had of him.

This man would have done honour to the earliest and least corrupted times of the Athenian state. His manners were formed in the Academy, upon the models of the most exact and rigid virtue. It was said, that no Athenian ever saw him laugh or weep, or deviate in any instance from the most settled gravity and composure. He learned the art of war under Cha-



brias, and frequently moderated the excesses, and corrected the errors of that general: his humanity he admired and imitated, and taught him to exert it in a more extensive and liberal manner. When he had received his directions to sail, with twenty ships, to collect the contributions of the allies and dependent cities, "Why that force?" said Phocion; "if I am to meet them as enemies, it is insufficient; if as friends and allies, a single vessel will serve." He bore the severities of a military life with so much ease, that if Phocion ever appeared warmly clothed, the soldiers at once pronounced it the sign of a remarkably bad season. His outward appearance was forbidding, but his conversation easy and obliging; and all his words and actions expressed the utmost affection and benevolence. In popular assemblies, his lively, close, and natural manner of speaking, seemed, as it were, the echo of the simplicity and integrity of his mind, and had frequently a greater effect than even the dignity and energy of Demosthenes, who called him the pruner of his periods. He studied only good sense and plain reasoning, and despised every adventitious ornament. In an assembly, when he was to address the people, he was surprised by a friend, wrapped up in thought; "I am considering," said he, "whether I cannot retrench some part of my intended address." He was sensible of the ill conduct of his countrymen,

and ever treated them with the greatest severity. He defied their censures; and so far did he affect to despise their applause, that, at a time when his sentiments extorted their approbation, he turned about in surprise, and asked a friend, "If any thing weak or impertinent had escaped him?" His sense of the degeneracy of Athens, made him fond of pacific measures. He saw the designs of Philip, but imagined that the state was too corrupted to give him any effectual opposition; so that he was of the number of those men who, according to Demosthenes in his third Philippic oration, gave up the interests of the state, not corruptly or ignorantly, but from a desperate purpose of yielding to the fate of a constitution, thought to be irrecoverably lost. He was, of consequence, ever of the party opposite to Demosthenes; and having been taught, by experience, to suspect the popular leaders, considered his earnestness to rouse the Athenians to arms, as an artifice to embroil the state, and by that means to gain an influence in the assembly. "Phocion," said Demosthenes, "the people, in some mad fit, will certainly sacrifice thee to their fury." "Yes," replied he, "and you will be their victim, if ever they have an interval of reason." Yet they often prevailed on him to act against his judgment, though never to speak against his conscience. He never refused or declined the command, whatever might be his

opinion of the expedition. Forty-five times was he chosen to lead their armies, generally in his absence, and ever without the least application. They knew his merit; and in the hour of danger, forgot that severity with which he usually treated their inclinations and opinions.

It was to him the Athenians gave the command of the forces they sent to the aid of Plutarch of Eretria. But this traitor repaid his benefactors with ingratitude; he set up the standard against them, and endeavoured openly to repulse the very army he had requested. However, Phocion was not at a loss how to act in consequence of that unforeseen perfidy; for he pursued his enterprise, won a battle, and drove Plutarch from Eretria.

These disappointments, however, no way intimidated Philip, or rendered him the least remiss in prosecuting his original design. He now, therefore, changed the method of his attack and sought for an opportunity of distressing Athens another way. He knew that this city, from the barrenness of Attica, stood in greater want of foreign corn, than any other. To dispose, at discretion, of their transports, and by that means starve the Athenians, he marched towards Thrace, from whence that city imported the greatest part of its provisions, with an intention to besiege Perinthus and Byzantium. To keep his kingdom in obedience

during his absence, he left his son Alexander behind, with sovereign authority, though he was only fifteen years old. This young prince gave, even at that time, some proofs of his courage; having defeated certain neighbouring states, subject to Macedonia, who had considered the king's absence as a very proper time for executing the design they had formed of revolting. This happy success of Alexander's first expeditions was highly agreeable to his father, and at the same time an earnest of what might be expected from him. But fearing lest, allured by this dangerous bait, he should abandon himself inconsiderately to his vivacity and fire, he sent for him in order to become his master; and form him, in person, for the profession of war.

In the mean time, Philip opened the campaign with the siege of Perinthus, a considerable city of Thrace, and firmly attached to the Athenians. It was assisted from Byzantium, a neighbouring city, which threw in succours as occasion required. Philip, therefore, resolved to besiege both at the same time. Still, however, he was desirous to appear cautious and tender of displeasing the Athenians, whom he endeavoured to amuse with the most profound respect, mixed with well-timed abuses, and the most flattering submission. Upon this occasion, he wrote them a letter, reproaching them, in the strongest terms, for their infraction of treaties, and his own religious observance of them. "In



“ the times of great enmity,” says he, “ the most  
“ you did was to fit out ships of war against  
“ me, and to seize and sell the merchants that  
“ came to trade in my dominions ; but now  
“ you carry your hatred and injustice to such  
“ prodigious lengths, as even to send ambassa-  
“ dors to the king of Persia, to make him de-  
“ clare against me.”

The letter gave the orators who undertook Philip's defence, a fine opportunity of justifying him to the people. Demosthenes alone stood firm, and still continued to expose his artful designs, and to break down all those laboured schemes which were undertaken to deceive the people. Sensible, on this occasion, how necessary it was to remove the first impressions which the perusal of this letter might make, he immediately ascended the tribunal, and from thence harangued the people, with all the thunder of his eloquence. He told them the letter was written in a style not suitable to the people of Athens ; that it was a plain declaration of war against them ; that Philip had long since made the same declaration by his actions ; and that by the peace he had concluded with them, he meant nothing further than a bare cessation of arms, in order to gain time, and to take them more unprepared. From thence he proceeded to his usual topic of reproving them for their sloth, for suffering themselves to be deluded by their orators who were in Philip's



pay. "Convinced by these truths," continued he, "O Athenians, and strongly persuaded that we can no longer be allowed to affirm that we enjoy peace, (for Philip has now declared war against us by his letter, and has long done the same by his conduct) you ought not to spare either the public treasure, or the possessions of private persons, but when occasion shall require, haste to your respective standards, and set abler generals at your head, than those you have hitherto employed; for no one among you ought to imagine, that the same men who have ruined your affairs, will have abilities to restore them to their former happy situation. Think how infamous it is, that a man from Macedon should condemn dangers to such a degree, that merely to aggrandize his empire, he should rush into the midst of combats, and return from battle covered with wounds, and that the Athenians, whose hereditary right it is to obey no man, but to impose law on others, sword in hand; that Athenians, I say, merely through dejection of spirit and indolence, should degenerate from the glory of their ancestors, and abandon the interest of their country!" To this expostulation, Phocion readily offered his voice and opinion. He urged the incapacity of the generals already chosen; and, in consequence of his advice he himself was appointed

general of the army that was to go against Philip, who was still besieging Byzantium,

Phocion having led his troops to the succour of the Byzantians, the inhabitants, on his arrival, opened their gates to him with joy, and lodged his soldiers in their houses, as their own brothers and children. The Athenian officers and soldiers, struck with the confidence reposed in them, behaved with the utmost prudence and modesty, and were entirely irreproachable in their conduct; nor were they less admired for their courage; and in all the attacks they sustained, discovered the utmost intrepidity, which danger seemed only to improve. Phocion's prudence, seconded by the bravery of his troops, soon forced Philip to abandon his design upon Byzantium and Perinthus. He was beat out of the Hellespont, which diminished very much his fame and glory; for he hitherto had been thought invincible, and nothing had been able to oppose him. Phocion took some of his ships, recovered many fortresses which he had garrisoned, and having made several descents into different parts of his territories, he plundered all the open country, till a body of forces assembling to check his progress, he was obliged to retire.

Philip after having been forced to raise the siege of Byzantium, marched against Atheas, king of Scythia, from whom he had received some personal cause of discontent, and took his

son with him in this expedition. Though the Scythians had a very numerous army, he defeated them without any difficulty. He got a very great booty, which consisted not in gold or silver, the use and value of which the Scythians were not as yet so unhappy as to know, but in cattle, in horses, and in a great number of women and children.

At his return from Scythia, the Triballi, a people of Mœsia, disputed the pass with him, laying claim to part of the plunder he was carrying off. Philip was forced to come to a battle, and a very bloody one was fought, in which great numbers on each side were killed on the spot; the king himself was wounded in the thigh, and, with the same thrust, had his horse killed under him. Alexander flew to his father's aid, and covering him with his shield, killed or put to flight all who attacked him.

The Athenians had considered the siege of Byzantium as an absolute rupture, and an open declaration of war. The king of Macedon, who was apprehensive of the consequences of it, and dreaded very much the power of the Athenians, whose hatred he had drawn upon himself, made overtures of peace, in order to soften their resentment. Phocion, little suspicious, and apprehensive of the uncertainty of military supplies, was of opinion, that the Athenians should accept his offers: but Demosthenes, who had studied more than Phocion the genius and



character of Philip, and who was persuaded that, according to his usual custom, his only view was to impose upon the Athenians, prevented their listening to his pacific proposals. When Philip found the Athenians would not treat with him, and that they were acting offensively against him, especially at sea, where they blocked up his ports, and put an entire stop to his commerce, he began to form new alliances against them, particularly with the Thebans and Thessalians, without whom he knew he could not keep open his passage into Greece. At the same time he was sensible that his engaging these powers to act directly against Athens, and in his own personal quarrel, would have so bad an aspect, that they would not easily come into it. For which reason he endeavoured, underhand, to create new disturbances in Greece, that he might take such a part in them as would best answer his views; and when the flame was kindled, his point was to appear rather to be called in as an assistant, than to act as a principal.

By the result of his machinations he soon found an opportunity of raising divisions between the Locrians of Amphissa and their capital city. They were accused of having profaned a spot of sacred ground, (which lay very near the temple of Delphos) by ploughing it, as the Phocians had done upon a former occasion. In order to produce and widen this breach, Philip

employed Æschines, the orator, who by bribes was entirely devoted to him, to harangue at the assembly of the Amphictyons against this outrage upon the religion of their country. Æschines was a man of great abilities, and only second in eloquence to Demosthenes. He had now a fair opportunity of raising commotions, by appearing interested for his country, and zealous for the glory and defence of Athens. With a passionate warmth, which is frequently the effect of artifice as well as of real patriotism, and which is most likely to deceive, and more particularly in popular assemblies, by being considered as the indication of sincerity, and the overflowings of a heart honestly affected, he boldly delivered his opinions. His sentiments were echoed through the assembly by the friends of Philip; the tumult was kept up to drown all remonstrances of caution and policy, and a resolution was passed, that a deputation should be sent to Philip, king of Macedon, inviting him to assist Apollo and the Amphictyons, and to repel the outrages of the impious Amphisœans; and farther, to declare that he was constituted, by all the Greeks, member of the council of Amphictyons, and general and commander of their forces, with full and unlimited powers.

This welcome invitation and commission, the fruit of all his secret practices, Philip received in Thrace, while he was yet on his return to



Macedon. He bowed with an affectionate reverence to the venerable council, and declared his readiness to execute their orders.

The inferior states of Greece, and all those whose simplicity and weakness rendered them insensible to the designs now forming by Philip, entirely approved of the act of the Amphytyons, and of the nomination of a prince to the command of their forces, so eminent and illustrious for his piety, and so capable of executing the vengeance of Heaven. At Sparta and at Athens this event was considered in a different manner. The first of these people, though possessed but of a small part of their ancient greatness, yet still retained their pride, and seemed to have looked with a sullen indignation at the honours paid to Macedon. The Athenians had been long taught to dread the policy of Philip, and now their great popular leader repeatedly urged the necessity of suspicion, and represented all the late transactions in the Amphytyonic council as the effects of Philip's intrigues, and a design against Greece in general, but more particularly against the welfare and liberty of Athens.

To counteract the zeal of Demosthenes, and to prevent the effects of his incessant remonstrances, the minds of the people were alarmed with oracles and predictions, uttered with all solemnity from the sacred tripod, and reported

to the Athenians with all the veneration due to the dictates of Apollo. Vengeance was pronounced against all those who should presume to oppose the king of Macedon, the destined instrument of Divine Justice ; and the people were exhorted not to suffer artful and designing orators, and popular leaders, to seduce them to their ruin.

In the mean time Philip immediately got his troops together, and, with all the show of religious veneration, began to march, in order to chastise the irreverent Locrians : but he had far different aims ; and instead of proceeding upon so ridiculous a commission, made a sudden turn, and seized upon Elatea, a capital city of Phocis, which was very well situated for awing the Thebans, of whom he began to grow jealous, and for preparing his way to Athens. But by so extraordinary a step as this, he fairly threw off the mask, and bade defiance to the whole body of Grecians. Thus was this enterprizing prince, all of a sudden, master of a port of the utmost consequence ; at the head of an army capable of striking terror into his opposers ; at the distance of but two days' march from Attica ; absolute commander, as it were, of the citadel and fortress both of Thebes and Athens ; conveniently situated for receiving succours from Thessaly and Macedon, and entirely at liberty either to give battle to those who might presume to

appear in arms against him, or to protract the war to any length that might be found convenient.

The news of Philip's recent transaction was quickly spread through the adjacent countries, and received with all the stupid and helpless astonishment of men roused from a long lethargy, and awakened to a dreadful sense of their danger, and of the real designs of their enemy. It was late in the evening when a courier arriving at Athens, appeared before the Prytanes, and pronounced the dreadful tidings, that the king of Macedon had taken possession of Elatea. These magistrates, and all the other citizens, were now at supper, indulging themselves in the pleasures and gaieties of the table, when the news, which in an instant rung through all the city, roused them from their state of ease, and put an end to all their festivity. The streets and public places were instantly filled with a distracted concourse; every man with terror and confusion in his countenance, and every man solicitous for an immediate consultation on an emergency so important and alarming. At the dawn of the succeeding day the assembly met together, impressed with that consternation which urgent danger naturally inspires. The whole body of the people flocked to the senate-house, seized their places, and waited with the utmost anxiety for so important a deliberation. The herald, as was the custom

at Athens, arose, and cried out with a loud voice, " Who among you will ascend the tribunal ?" All, however, was silence, terror and dismay. He again repeated the invitation ; but still no one rose up, though all the generals and orators were present. At length Demosthenes, animated with the greatness of the approaching danger, arose, undaunted and unmoved in this scene of horror. With a countenance of serenity, the firm composure of a patriot, and the sage discernment of a complete statesman, he addressed himself to the assembly in the following manner : — " Athenians, permit me to " explain the circumstances of that state which " Philip has now seized upon. Those of its " citizens whom his gold could corrupt, or his " artifice deceive, are all at his devotion. What " then is his design ? By drawing up his forces, " and displaying his powers on the borders of " Thebes, he hopes to inspire his adherents " with confidence and elevation, and to terrify " and controul his adversaries, that fear or force " may drive them into those measures which " they have hitherto opposed. If then we are " resolved, in this conjuncture, to cherish the remembrance of every act of unkindness, which " the Thebans have done to Athens ; if we regard them with suspicion, as men who have " ranged themselves on the side of our enemy ; " in the first place, we shall act agreeably to " Philip's warmest wishes ; and then I am ap-



“ prehensive, that the party who now oppose  
“ him, may be brought over to his interest; the  
“ whole city submit unanimously to his direc-  
“ tion; and Thebes and Macedon fall, with their  
“ united force, on Attica. Grant the due atten-  
“ tion to what I shall now propose; let it be  
“ calmly weighed, without dispute or cavil, and  
“ I doubt not but that my counsels may direct  
“ you to the best and most salutary measures,  
“ and dispel the dangers now impending over  
“ the state. What then do I recommend?—  
“ First, shake off that terror which hath possess-  
“ ed your minds; and, instead of fearing for  
“ yourselves, let the Thebans be the objects of  
“ your apprehensions; they are more immedi-  
“ ately affected; they are the first to feel the  
“ dangers. In the next place, all those of the  
“ age for military service, both infantry and  
“ cavalry, should march instantly to Eleusis,  
“ that Greece may see that you are also as-  
“ sembled in arms; and your friends in Thebes  
“ to be emboldened to assert their rights, when  
“ they are assured, that as they who have sold their  
“ country to the Macedonians, have a force at  
“ Elatea to support them, so you are ready to  
“ assist the men who bravely contend for liberty.  
“ In the last place I recommend to you to nomi-  
“ nate ten ambassadors, who, with the generals,  
“ may have full authority to determine the time,  
“ and all other circumstances of this march.  
“ When these ambassadors arrive at Thebes,



“ how are they to conduct this great affair?  
“ This is a point worthy of your most serious  
“ attention. Make no demands of the Thebans;  
“ at this conjuncture it would be dishonourable:  
“ assure them that your assistance is ready for  
“ their acceptance, as you are justly affected by  
“ their danger, and have been so happy as to  
“ foresee and to guard against it. If they ap-  
“ prove of your sentiments, and embrace your  
“ overtures, we shall effect our great purpose,  
“ and act with a dignity worthy of our state.  
“ But should it happen that we are not so suc-  
“ cessful whatever misfortunes they may suffer,  
“ to themselves shall they be imputed; while  
“ your conduct shall appear, in no one instance,  
“ inconsistent with the honour and renown of  
“ Athens.”

This oration, delivered with ease and resolution, did not want its due effect; it was received with universal applause, and Demosthenes himself was instantly chosen to head the embassy which he had now proposed. A decree, in pursuance of his advice was drawn up in form; with an additional clause, that a fleet of two hundred sail should be fitted out to cruise near Thermopylæ.

In consequence of this, Demosthenes set out for Thebes, making the more haste, as he was sensible that Philip might over-run Attica in two days. Philip, on the other hand, in order to oppose the eloquence of Demosthenes, sent ambas-

sadors to Thebes, among whom was Python, who particularly distinguished himself by the liveliness of his orations. But his persuasive powers were far inferior to those of Demosthenes, who overcame all opposition. The masculine eloquence of Demosthenes was irresistible; and kindled in the souls of the Thebans so warm a zeal for their country, and so strong a passion for freedom, that they were no longer masters of themselves; laying aside all fear and gratitude, and all prudential considerations.

That which animated Demosthenes, next to his public safety, was his having to do with a man of Python's abilities; and he some time after took occasion to value himself upon the victory he had obtained over him:—"I did not give way," said he, "to the boasting Python, when he would have bore me down with a torrent of words." He gloried more in the success of this negociation than of any other he had been employed in, and spoke of it as his master-piece in politics.

Philip, quite disconcerted by the union of these two nations, sent ambassadors to the Athenians, to request them not to levy an armed force, but to live in harmony with him. However, they were too justly alarmed and exasperated to listen to any accommodation, and would no longer depend on the word of a prince, whose whole aim was to deceive. In consequence, preparations for war were made with

the utmost diligence, and the soldiery discovered incredible ardour. However, many evil disposed persons endeavoured to extinguish or damp it, by relating fatal omens, and terrible predictions, which the priestess of Delphos was said to have uttered. But Demosthenes, confiding firmly in the arms of Greece, and encouraged wonderfully by the number and bravery of the troops, who desired only to march against the enemy, would not suffer them to be amused with these oracles and frivolous predictions. It was on this occasion, he said, that the priestess Philipised; meaning; that it was Philip's money that inspired the priestess, opened her mouth, and made the goddess speak whatever she thought proper. He bade the Thebans remember their Epaminondas, and the Athenians their Pericles; who considered these oracles and predictions as idle scare-crows, and consulted only their reason. The Athenian army set out immediately, and marched to Eleusis; and the Thebans surprised at the diligence of their confederates, joined them, and waited the approach of the enemy.

Philip, on his part, well knowing that the bravery and spirit of his enemies wanted that direction which might enable them to improve their advantages, and conscious also of his own abilities, and the weakness of those generals who commanded the Greeks, determined to bring on a general engagement, where his su-

perior skill must appear of the greatest moment. For this purpose he took a favourable opportunity of decamping, and led his army to the plain of Chæronea, a name rendered famous by the event of this important contest. Here he chose his station, in view of a temple dedicated to Hercules, the author of his race, as if resolved to fight in his presence, to make him witness of the actions of his descendant, and to commit his forces, and his cause, to the immediate protection of this hero. Some ancient oracles were preserved, which seemed to point out the spot, on which he now encamped, as the scene of some dreadful calamity to Greece.

His army was formed of thirty-two thousand men, warlike, disciplined, and long enured to the toils and dangers of the field ; but this body was composed of different nations and countries, who had each their distinct and separate views and interests. The army of the confederates did not amount to thirty-thousand complete, of which the Athenians and Thebans furnished the greatest part ; the rest was formed of the Corinthians and Peloponnesians. The same motives and the same zeal, influenced and animated them. All were equally affected by the event ; and all equally resolved to conquer, or die in defence of liberty.

On the eve of this decisive day, Diogenes, the famous Cynic, who had long looked with equal contempt on either party, was led by



curiosity to visit the camps, as an unconcerned spectator. In the Macedonian camp, where his character and person were not known, he was stopped by the guards, and conducted to Philip's tent. The king expressed surprise at a stranger's presuming to approach his camp; and asked, with severity, Whether he came as a spy? "Yes," said Diogenes, "I am come to spy upon your vanity and ambition, who thus wantonly set your life and kingdom to the hazard of an hour."

And now the fatal morning appeared; which was for ever to decide the cause of liberty and the empire of Greece. Before the rising of the sun both armies were ranged in order of battle. The Thebans, commanded by Theogenes, a man of but moderate abilities in war, and suspected of corruption, obtained the post of honour on the right wing of the confederated Greeks, with that famous body in the front, called the Sacred Band, formed of generous and warlike youths, connected and endeared to each other by all the noble enthusiasm of love and friendship. The centre was formed of the Corinthians and Peloponnesians; and the Athenians composed the left wing, led by their generals, Lysicles and Chares. On the left of the Macedonian army stood Alexander, at the head of a chosen body of noble Macedonians, supported by the famous cavalry of Thessaly. As this prince was then but nineteen years old, his father was careful to



curb his youthful impetuosity, and to direct his valour ; and for this purpose surrounded him with a number of experienced officers. In the centre were placed those Greeks who had united with Philip, and on whose courage he had the least dependence ; whilst the king himself commanded on the right wing, where his renowned phalanx stood, to oppose the impetuosity with which the Athenians were well known to begin their onset.

The charge began on each side with all the courage and violence which ambition, revenge, the love of glory, and the love of liberty could excite in the several combatants. Alexander, at the head of the Macedonian nobles, first fell, with all the fury of youthful courage, on the Sacred Band of Thebes, which sustained his attack with a bravery and vigour worthy of its former fame. The gallant youths who composed this body, not being timely, or not duly supported by their countrymen, bore up for a while against the torrent of the enemy ; till at length, oppressed and overpowered by superior numbers, without yielding or turning their backs on their assailants, they sunk down upon that ground where they had been originally stationed, each by the side of his darling friend, raising up a bulwark by their bodies against the progress of the army. But the young prince and his forces, in all the enthusiastic ardour of valour, animated by success, pushed on through

all the carnage, and over all the heaps of slain, and fell furiously on the main body of the Thebans ; where they were opposed with obstinate and deliberate courage, and the contest was, for some time, supported with mutual violence.

The Athenians, at the same time on the right wing, fought with a spirit and intrepidity worthy of the character which they boasted, and of the cause by which they were animated. Many brave efforts were exerted on each side, and success was for some time doubtful ; till at length part of the centre, and the left wing of the Macedonians (except the phalanx) yielded to the impetuous attack of the Athenians, and fled with some precipitation. Happy had it been on that day for Greece, if the conduct and abilities of the Grecian generals had been equal to the valour of their soldiers ! But those brave champions of liberty were led on by the despicable creatures of intrigue and cabal. Transported by the advantage now obtained, the presumptuous Lysicles cried out, “ Come on, my gallant countrymen ; the victory is ours ; let us pursue these cowards, and drive them to Macedon : ” and thus, instead of improving the happy opportunity, by charging the phalanx in flank, and so breaking this formidable body, the Athenians wildly and precipitately pressed forward, in pursuit of the flying enemy ; themselves in all the tumult and disorder of a route. Philip saw this fatal error with all the contempt of a skilful general, and the secret exultation

arising from the assurance of approaching victory. He coolly observed to those officers that stood round him, That the Athenians knew not how to conquer ; and ordered his phalanx to change its position, and, by a sudden evolution, to gain possession of an adjacent eminence. From thence they marched deliberately down firm and collected, and fell, with their united force on the Athenians, now confident of success, and blind to their danger. The shock was irresistible ; they were at once overwhelmed ; many of them lay crushed by the weight of the enemy, and expiring by their wounds ; while the rest escaped from the dreadful slaughter by a shameful and precipitate flight ; bearing down and hurrying away with them, those troops which had been stationed for their support. And here the renowned orator and statesman, whose noble sentiments and spirited harangues had raised the courage on this day so eminently exerted, betrayed that weakness which has sullied his great character. He alone of all his countrymen, advanced to the charge cold and dismayed ; and, at the very first appearance of a reverse of fortune, in an agony of terror, turned his back, cast away that shield which he had adorned with this inscription in golden characters, To Good Fortune, and appeared the foremost in the general route. The ridicule and malice of his enemies related, or perhaps invented, another shameful circumstance ; that

being impeded in his flight by some brambles, his imagination was so possessed by the presence of an enemy, that he loudly cried out for quarter.

While Philip was thus triumphant on his side, Alexander continued the conflict on the other wing, and at length broke the Thebans, in spite of all their acts of valour, who now fled from the field, and were pursued with great carnage. The centre of the confederates was thus totally abandoned to the fury of a victorious enemy. But enough of slaughter had already been made ; more than one thousand of the Athenians lay dead on the field of battle, two thousand were made prisoners, and the loss of the Thebans was not inferior. Philip, therefore, determined to conclude his important victory by an act of apparent clemency, which his ambition and policy really dictated. He gave orders that the Greeks should be spared, conscious of his own designs, and still expecting to appear in the field the head and leader of that body which he had now completely subdued.

Philip was transported with this victory beyond measure ; and having drank to excess at an entertainment which he gave upon that occasion, went into the field of battle, where he exulted over the slain, and upbraided the prisoners with their misfortunes. He leaped and danced about in a frantic manner, and with an air of burlesque merriment sung the beginning



of the decree, which Demosthenes had drawn up as a declaration of war against him. Demades who was of the number of the prisoners, had the courage to reproach him with this ungenerous behaviour, telling him, That fortune had given him the part of Agamemnon, but that he was acting that of Thersites. He was so struck with the justness of this reproof, that it wrought a thorough change in him, and he was so far from being offended at Demades, that he immediately gave him his liberty, and shewed him afterwards great marks of honour and friendship. He likewise released all the Athenian captives, and without ransom; and when they found him so generously disposed towards them, they made a demand of their baggage, with every thing else that had been taken from them; but to that Philip replied, "Surely they think I have not beat them." This discharge of the prisoners was ascribed, in a great measure, to Demades, who is said to have new-modelled Philip, and to have softened his temper with the Attic graces, as Diodorus expresses it. Indeed, Philip himself acknowledged, upon another occasion, that his frequent converse with the Athenian orators, had been of great use to him in correcting his morals. Justin represents his carriage after the battle in a very different light: alledging that he took abundance of pains to dissemble his joy; that he affected great modesty and compassion, and

was not seen to laugh ; that he would have no sacrifice, no crowns, no perfumes ; that he forbade all kinds of sports, and did nothing that might make him appear to the conquerors to be elated, nor to the conquered to be insolent. But this account seems to have been confounded with others which were given of him, after his being reformed by Demades. It is certain, that after his first transport was over, and that he began to recollect himself, he shewed great humanity to the Athenians ; and that, in order still to keep measures with them, he renewed the peace. But the Thebans who had renounced their alliance with him, he treated in another manner. He who affected to be as much master of his allies as of his subjects, could not easily pardon those who had deserted him in so critical a conjuncture ; wherefore he not only took ransom for their prisoners, but made them pay for leave to bury their dead. After these severities, and after having placed a strong garrison over them, he granted them a peace.

We are told that Isocrates, the most celebrated rhetorician of that age, who loved his country with the utmost tenderness, could not survive the loss and ignominy with which it was covered, by the loss of the battle of Chæronea. The instant he received the news of its being uncertain what use Philip would make of his victory, and determined to die a freeman, he hastened his end by abstaining from food. He

was foreshore and eighteen years of age. This defeat was attributed chiefly to the ill conduct of the generals Lysicles and Chares; the former whereof the Athenians put to death, at the instance of Lycurgus, who had great credit and influence with the people, but was a severe judge, and a most bitter accuser. "You, Lysicles," said he, "were general of the army: a thousand citizens were slain, two thousand taken prisoners; a trophy has been erected to the dishonour of this city, and all Greece is enslaved. You had the command when all these things happened; and yet you dare to live and view the light of the sun, and blush not to appear publicly in the Forum: you, Lysicles, who are born the monument of your country's shame!" This Lycurgus was one of the orators of the first rank, and free from the general corruption which then reigned among them. He managed the public treasure for twelve years with great uprightness, and had, throughout his life, the reputation of a man of honour and virtue. He encreased the shipping, supplied the arsenal, drove the bad men out of the city, and framed several good laws. He kept an exact register of every thing he did during his administration; and, when that was expired, he caused it to be fixed up to a pillar, that every body might be at liberty to inspect it, and to censure his conduct. He carried this point so far, that in his last sickness, he ordered himself

to be carried to the Senate-house to give a public account of all his actions ; and, after he had refuted one who accused him there, he went home, and died. Notwithstanding the austerity of his temper, he was a great encourager of the stage ; which, though it had been carried to an excess that was manifestly hurtful to the public, he still looked upon as the best school to instruct and polish the minds of the people. And to this end he kept up a spirit of emulation among the writers of tragedy, and erected the statues of *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*. He left three sons who were unworthy of him, and behaved so ill that they were all put in prison ; but *Demosthenes*, out of regard to the memory of their father, got them discharged.

It does not appear that *Chares* underwent any persecution for his share of this action ; though, according to his general character, he deserved it as much or more than his colleague ; for he had no talent for command, and was very little different from a common soldier. *Timotheus* said of him, “ That, instead of being a general, he was fitter to carry the general’s baggage.” His person, indeed, was of that robust kind of make ; and it was that which served, in some measure, to recommend him to the people. But he was more a man of pleasure than fatigue. In his military expeditions, he was wont to carry with him a band of music, and he defrayed the expence of it out of the soldiers’



pay. Notwithstanding his want of abilities, he had a thorough good opinion of himself. He was vain and positive, bold and boisterous ; a great undertaker, and always ready to warrant success ; but his performances seldom answered ; and hence it was that the promises of Chares became a proverb : and yet, as little as he was to be depended on, he had his partizans among the people, and among the orators, by whose means he got himself to be frequently employed, and others to be excluded who were more capable.

But it was Demosthenes who seemed to have been the principal cause of the terrible shock which Athens received at this time, and which gave its power such a wound, as it never recovered. However, at the very instant the Athenians heard of this bloody overthrow, which affected so great a number of families, when it would have been no wonder had the multitude, seized with terror and alarms, given way to an emotion of blind zeal against the man whom they might have considered, in some measure, as the author of this dreadful calamity : even at this very instant, I say, the people submitted entirely to the councils of Demosthenes. The precautions that were taken to post guards, to raise the walls, and to repair the ditches, were all in consequence of his advice. He himself was appointed to supply the city with provisions, and to repair the walls, which

latter commission he executed with so much generosity, that it acquired him the greatest honour ; and for which, at the request of Ctesiphon, a crown of gold was decreed him, as a reward for his having presented the commonwealth with a sum of money out of his own estate, sufficient to defray what was wanting of the expence for repairing the walls.

On the present occasion, that is, after the battle of Chæronea, such orators as opposed Demosthenes, having all risen up in concert against him, and having cited him to take his trial according to law, the people not only declared him innocent of the several accusations laid to his charge, but conferred more honours upon him than he had enjoyed before ; so strongly did the veneration they had for his zeal and fidelity overbalance the efforts of calumny and malice.

But the people did not stop here : the bones of such as had been killed in the battle of Chæronea having been brought to Athens to be interred, they appointed Demosthenes to compose the eulogium of those brave men ; a manifest proof that they did not ascribe to him the ill success of the battle, but to Providence only, who disposes of human events at pleasure.

It was in this year that Æschines drew up an accusation against Ctesiphon, or rather against Demosthenes which was the most remarkable that ever appeared before any tribunal ; not so

much for the object of the contest, as for the greatness and ability of the speakers. Ctesiphon, a partizan and friend of Demosthenes, brought a cause before the assembly of the people, in which he urged that a decree should be passed, giving a golden crown to Demosthenes. This decree was strongly opposed by Æschines, the rival of Demosthenes, as well in eloquence, as in ambition.

No cause ever excited so much curiosity, nor was pleaded with so much pomp. People flocked to it from all parts, and they had great reason for so doing; for what sight could be nobler, than a conflict between two orators, each of them excellent in his way, both formed by nature, improved by art, and animated by perpetual dissensions, and an implacable animosity against each other.

The juncture seemed to favour Æschines very much; for the Macedonian party, whom he always befriended, was very powerful in Athens, especially after the ruin of Thebes. Nevertheless Æschines lost his cause, and was justly sentenced to banishment for his rash accusation. He thereupon went and settled himself in Rhodes, where he opened a school of eloquence, the fame and glory of which continued for many ages. He began his lectures with the two orations that had occasioned his banishment. Great encomiums were given to that of Æschines; but when they heard that of Demosthenes,

the plaudits and acclamations were redoubled. And it was then he spoke these words, so greatly laudable in the mouth of an enemy and a rival : “ Alas ! what applauses would you not have bestowed, had you heard Demosthenes speak it himself ? ”

Demosthenes, thus become victor, made a good use of his conquest. For the instant Æschines left Athens, in order to embark for Rhodes, Demosthenes, ran after him, and forced him to accept of a purse of money. On this occasion, Æschines cried out, “ How will it be possible for me not to regret a country, in which I leave an enemy more generous, than I can hope to find friends in any other part of the world ? ”

In the mean time, Philip had his ambition pleased, but not satisfied with his last victory ; he had one object long in view, and that he never lost sight of : this was to get himself appointed, in the assembly of the Greeks, their chief general against the Persians. It had long been the object not only of the confederate states, but also of the neighbouring Greek nations, to revenge upon the kingdom of Persia, the injuries they had sustained from it, and to work the total destruction of that empire. This was an object which had early inflamed the mind of Philip, and his late victory paved the way to it. He therefore got himself declared generalissimo of the Greek forces, and accord-



ingly made preparations to invade that mighty empire.

But whilst Philip was thus successful in politics and war, the domestic divisions that reigned in his family embittered his happiness, and at last caused his destruction. He had married Olympias, the daughter of the king of Epirus, and the early part of their union was crowned with happiness; but her ill temper soon clouded that dawn which promised so much felicity; she was naturally jealous, vindictive, and passionate; and their dissensions were carried to such a degree, that Philip was often heard to wish for death. But his passion for Cleopatra, niece to Attalus, his general, completed their separation. As Cleopatra was no less amiable in her temper and accomplishments, than in the extraordinary graces of her person, Philip conceived that he should consult his own happiness most effectually, by forming an inviolable and perpetual union with this lady; and, without the least hesitation, resolved to separate himself for ever from the princess who had long appeared so great an enemy to his tranquillity. In vain did Alexander his son remonstrate, that by divorcing Olympias, and engaging in a second marriage, he exposed him to the danger of contending with a number of competitors for the crown, and rendered his succession precarious. "My son," said the king, "if I create you a number of competi-

tors, you will have the glorious opportunity of exerting yourself to surpass them in merit. Thus shall their rivalry by no means affect your title." His marriage with Cleopatra was now declared in form, and celebrated with all the grandeur and solemnity which the great occasion demanded. The young prince, however dissatisfied, was yet obliged to attend on these solemnities, and sat in silent indignation at that feast which proclaimed the disgrace of his mother. In such circumstances, his youthful and impetuous mind could not but be susceptible of the slightest irritation. Attalus, the uncle of the new queen, forgetting that just caution, which should have taught him to be scrupulously observant to avoid offending the prince, intoxicated by the honours paid to his kinswoman, as well as by the present festivity, was rash enough to call publicly on the Macedonian nobles, to pour out their libations to the gods, that they might grant the king the happy fruits of the present nuptials, and legitimate heirs to his throne. "Wretch!" cried Alexander, with his eyes sparkling with that fury and vexation which he had till now suppressed, "dost thou then call me bastard?" and instantly darted his goblet at Attalus, who returned the outrage with double violence. Clamour and confusion arose, and the king, in a sudden fit of rage, snatched his sword and flew directly towards his son. His precipitation, his lame-

ness, and the quantity of wine in which he had by this time indulged, happily disappointed his rash purpose ; he stumbled and fell on the floor, while Alexander, with an unpardonable insolence, cried out, “ Behold, ye Macedonians ! “ this is the king who is preparing to lead you “ into Asia ; see, where in passing from one “ table to another, he is fallen to the ground.”

Philip, however, did not lose sight of the conquests of Asia. Full of the mighty project he had conceived, he consulted the gods to know what would be the event of it ; and the priestess replied, The victim is already crowned, his end draws nigh, and he will soon be sacrificed. Philip hearing this, did not hesitate a moment, but interpreted the oracle in his own favour ; the ambiguity of which ought at least to have kept him in some suspense. In order, therefore, that he might be in a condition to apply entirely to his expedition against the Persians, and limit himself solely to the conquest of Asia, he dispatched with all possible diligence his domestic affairs. After this, he offered up a solemn sacrifice to the gods ; and prepared to celebrate with incredible magnificence in Egæ, a city of Macedonia, the nuptials of Cleopatra his daughter, whom he gave in marriage to Alexander king of Epirus, and brother to Olympias his queen. He had invited to it the most considerable persons of Greece, and heaped upon them friendship and honours

of every kind, by way of gratitude for electing him generalissimo of the Greeks. The cities made their court to him in emulating each other, by sending him golden crowns; and Athens distinguished its zeal above all the rest. Neoptolemus, the poet, had written purposely for that festival, a tragedy intitled Cinyras, in which, under borrowed names, he represented this prince as already victor over Darius, and master of Asia. Philip listened to these happy presages with joy, and, comparing them with the answer of the oracle, assured himself of conquest. The day after the nuptials, games and shows were solemnized. As these formed part of the religious worship, there were carried in it, with great pomp and ceremony, twelve statues of the gods, carved with inimitable art; a thirteenth that surpassed them all in magnificence, represented Philip as a god. The hour for his leaving the palace arrived, he went forth in a white robe! and advanced with an air of majesty, in the midst of unbounded acclamations, towards the theatre, where an infinite multitude of Macedonians, as well as foreigners, waited his coming with impatience.

But this magnificence only served to make the catastrophe more remarkable, and to add splendor to ruin. Some time before, Attalus, inflamed with wine at an entertainment, had insulted in the most shocking manner Pausanias a young Macedonian nobleman. The latter



had long endeavoured to revenge the cruel affront, and was perpetually imploring the king's justice. But Philip, unwilling to disgust Attalus, uncle to Cleopatra, whom, as was before observed, he had married after his divorcing Olympias his first queen, would never listen to Pausanias's complaints. However, to console him in some measure, and to express the high esteem he had for, and the great confidence he reposed in him, he made him one of the chief officers of his life-guard. But this was not what the young Macedonian required, whose anger now swelling to fury against his judge, he formed the design of wiping out his shame, by imbruing his hands in the blood of his sovereign.

And now while this unhappy youth continued brooding over those malignant passions which distracted and corroded his mind, he happened to go into the school of one Hermocrates, who professed to teach philosophy; to whom he proposed the following question: What shall that man do, who wishes to transmit his name with lustre to posterity? Hermocrates, either artfully and from design, or the natural malignity of his temper, replied, "He must kill him who hath atchieved the greatest actions; thus shall the memory of the hero be joined with his who slew him, and both descend together to posterity." This was a maxim highly agreeable to Pausanias, in the present disposi-

tion of his mind ; and thus various accidents and circumstances concurred to inflame those dangerous passions which now possessed him, and to prompt him to the dreadful purpose of satiating his revenge.

The present solemnity was the occasion which Pausanias chose for putting his dreadful design in execution. Philip, clothed in a white flowing robe, waving in soft and graceful folds, the habiliments in which the Grecian deities were usually represented, moved forward with an heart filled with triumph and exultation, while the admiring crowds shouted forth their flattering applause. His guards had orders to keep at a considerable distance from his person, to shew that the king confided in the affections of his people, and had not the least apprehensions of danger amidst all this mixed concourse of different states and nations. Unhappily the danger was but too near him. The injured Pausanias had not yet forgot his wrongs, but still retained those terrible impressions which the sense of the indignity he had received, and the artful and interested representations of others, fixed deeply in his mind. He chose this fatal morning for the execution of his revenge on the prince, who had denied reparation to his injured honour. His design had been for some time premeditated, and now was the dreadful moment of effecting it. As Philip marched on in all his pride and pomp, this

young Macedonian slipped through the crowd, and with a desperate and revengeful resolution, waited his approach in a narrow passage, just at the entrance into the theatre. The king advanced towards him, Pausanias drew his poniard, plunged it into his heart, and the conqueror of Greece, and terror of Asia, fell prostrate to the ground and instantly expired.

The murderer flew towards the gates of the city, where there stood horses ready to favour his escape, which Olympias herself is said to have prepared. The tumult and confusion was such as might be expected from so fatal an event; some of the Macedonians crowded round the fallen king with officious and ineffectual care, while others pursued Pausanias. Among these were Perdiccas, Attalus, and Leonatus; the first who excelled in swiftness came up to the assassin, where he was just preparing to mount his horse, but being by his precipitation intangled in some vines, a violent effort to extricate his foot brought him suddenly to the ground. As he prepared to rise, Perdiccas was upon him, and, with his companions, soon dispatched him by the repeated wounds which their fury inflicted. His body was immediately hung on a gibbet, but in the morning appeared crowned with a golden diadem; the only means by which Olympias could now express her implacable resentment. In a few days, indeed, she took a further occa-

sion of publishing her triumph and exultation in her husband's fall, by paying the same funeral honours to Pausanias, which were prepared for Philip; both bodies were burnt on the same pile, and the ashes of both deposited in the same tomb. She is even said to have prevailed on the Macedonians to pay annual honours to Pausanias, as if she feared that the share she had taken in the death of Philip should not be sufficiently known to the world. She consecrated to Apollo the dagger which had been the instrument of the fatal deed, inscribed with the name Myrtalis, the name which she had borne when their loves first began.

Thus died Philip, whose virtues and vices were directed and proportioned to his ambition. His most shining and exalted qualities were influenced in a great measure by his love of power; and even the most exceptionable parts of his conduct were principally determined by their conveniency and expediency. If he was unjust, he was, like Cæsar, unjust for the sake of empire. If he gloried in the success acquired by his virtues and his intellectual accomplishments, rather than in that which the force of arms could gain, the reason which he himself assigned, points out his true principle. "In the former case," said he, "the glory is entirely mine; in the other, my generals and soldiers have their share."

The news of Philip's death was a joyful sur-



prize in Greece, and particularly in Athens, where the people crowned themselves with garlands, and decreed a crown to Pausanias. They sacrificed to the gods for their deliverance, and sung songs of triumph, as if Philip had been slain by them in battle. But this excess of joy did ill become them. It was looked upon as an ungenerous and unmanly insult upon the ashes of a murdered prince, and of one whom they just before had revered, and crouched to in the most abject manner. These immoderate transports were raised in them by Demosthenes, who having the first intelligence of Philip's death, went into the assembly unusually gay and chearful, with a chaplet on his head, and in a rich habit, though it was then but the seventh day after the death of his daughter. From this circumstance Plutarch, at the same time that he condemns the behaviour of the Athenians in general upon this occasion, takes an opportunity to justify Demosthenes, and extols him as a patriot for not suffering his domestic afflictions to interfere with the good fortune of the commonwealth. But he certainly might have acted the part of a good citizen with more decency, and not have given up to insult what was due to good manners.

## CHAP. XIV.

FROM THE BIRTH OF ALEXANDER, TO HIS SETTING  
OUT FOR ASIA.

A. M. 3648.  
Ante J. C. 356. **A**ALEXANDER, the son of Philip, ascended the throne upon the death of his father, and took possession of a kingdom rendered flourishing and powerful by the policy of the preceding reign.

He came into the world the very day the celebrated Temple of Diana, at Ephesus, was burnt; upon which occasion the report goes, that Hegesias, the historian, was heard to say, That it was no wonder the temple was burnt, as Diana was that day employed at the delivery of Olympias, to facilitate the birth of Alexander.

The passion which prevailed most in Alexander, even from his tender years, was ambition, and an ardent desire of glory; but not for every species of glory. Philip, like a sophist, valued himself upon his eloquence, and the beauty of his style; and had the vanity to have engraved on his coins, the several victories he had won at the Olympic games in the chariot race. But it was not after such empty honours that his son aspired. His friends asked him one day, Whether

he would not be present at the games above-mentioned, in order to dispute the prize bestowed on that occasion? for he was very swift of foot. He answered, That he would contend in them, provided kings were to be his antagonists.

Every time news was brought him that his father had taken some city, or gained some great battle, Alexander, so far from sharing in the general joy, used to say in a plaintive tone of voice, to the young persons that were brought up with him, " Friends, my father will possess himself of every thing, and leave nothing for me to do."

One day, some ambassadors from the king of Persia being arrived at court during Philip's absence, Alexander gave them so kind and so polite a reception, and regaled them in so noble and generous a manner, as charmed them all; but that which most surprized them was, the good sense and judgment he discovered in the several conversations they had with him. He did not propose to them any thing that was trifling, and like one of his age; such, for instance, as enquiring about the so much boasted gardens suspended in the air; the riches and magnificence of the palace, and court of the king of Persia, which excited the admiration of the whole world; the famous golden plaintain tree; and that golden vine, the grapes of which

were of emeralds, carbuncles, rubies, and all sorts of precious stones, under which the Persian monarch was said frequently to give audience. Alexander, I say, asked them questions of a quite different nature; enquiring which was the road to Upper Asia; the distance of the several places; in what the strength and power of the king of Persia consisted; in what part of the battle he fought; how he behaved towards his enemies, and in what manner he governed his subjects. These ambassadors admired him all the while; and, perceiving, even at that time, how great he might one day become, they observed, in a few words, the difference they found between Alexander and Artaxerxes, by saying one to another. “This young prince is  
“great, and ours is rich: that man must be  
“vastly insignificant who has no other merit  
“than his riches!”

So ripe a judgment in this young prince was owing as much to the good education which had been given him, as to the happiness of his natural parts. Several preceptors were appointed to teach him all such arts and sciences as are worthy the heir of a great kingdom; and the chief of these was Leonidas, a person of the most severe morals, and a relation to the queen. This Leonidas, in their journies together, used frequently to look into the trunks where his beds and clothes were laid, in order to see if



Olympias, his mother, had not put something superfluous into them, which might administer to delicacy and luxury.

But the greatest service Philip did his son, was appointing Aristotle his preceptor. He was the most famous and the most learned philosopher of his age ; and was intrusted with the whole care of Alexander's education. One of the reasons which prompted Philip to choose him a master of such conspicuous reputation and merit, was, as he himself tells us, that his son might avoid committing a great many faults, of which he himself had been guilty.

Philip was sensible how great a treasure he possessed in the person of Aristotle ; for which reason he settled a very genteel stipend upon him, and afterwards rewarded his pains and care in an infinitely more glorious manner ; for having destroyed and laid waste the city of Stagira, the native place of that philosopher, he rebuilt it, purely out of affection for him ; reinstated the inhabitants, who had fled from it, or were made slaves, and gave them a fine park in the neighbourhood of Stagira, as a place for their studies and assemblies. Even in Plutarch's time, the stone seats which Aristotle had placed there were standing ; as also spacious vistas, under which those who walked were shaded from the sun-beams.

Alexander likewise discovered no less esteem for his master, whom he believed himself bound

to love as much as if he had been his father; declaring, That he was indebted to the one for living, and to the other for living well. The progress of the pupil was equal to the care and abilities of the preceptor. He grew vastly fond of philosophy, and learned the several parts of it; but in a manner suitable to his birth. Aristotle endeavoured to improve his judgment, by laying down sure and certain rules, by which he might distinguish just and solid reasoning from what is but speciously so; and by accustoming him to separate in discourse all such parts as only dazzle, from those which are truly solid, and constitute its chief value. But Alexander applied himself chiefly to morality, which is properly the science of kings, because it is the knowledge of mankind, and of their duties. This he made his serious and profound study, and considered it even at that time, as the foundation of prudence and wise policy.

The greatest master of rhetoric that antiquity could ever boast, and who has left so excellent a treatise on that subject, took care to make that science part of his pupil's education; and we find that Alexander, even in the midst of his conquest, was often very urgent with Aristotle to send him a treatise on that subject. To this we owe the work entitled *Alexander's Rhetoric*; in the beginning of which, Aristotle proves to him the vast advantages a prince may reap from eloquence; as it gives him the greatest ascen-

dant over the minds of men, which he ought to acquire as well by his wisdom as authority. Some answers and letters of Alexander, which are still extant, shew that he possessed, in its greatest perfection, that strong, that manly eloquence, which abounds with sense and ideas, and which is so entirely free from superfluous expressions, that every single word has its meaning; which, properly speaking, is the eloquence of kings.

His esteem, or rather his passion for Homer, shews, not only with what vigour and success he applied to polite literature, but the judicious use he made of it, and the solid advantages he proposed to himself from it. He was not only prompted to peruse this poet merely out of curiosity, or to unbend his mind, or from a great fondness for poetry; but his view in studying this admirable writer, was to borrow such sentiments from him, as were worthy a great king and conqueror; courage, intrepidity, magnanimity, temperance, prudence; the art of commanding well in war and peace. The verse which pleased him most in Homer, was that where Agamemnon is represented as a good king and a brave warrior.

After this, it is no wonder that Alexander should have so high an esteem for this poet. Thus when, after the battle of Arbela, the Macedonians had found, among the spoils of Darius, a golden box (enriched with precious stones)

in which the excellent perfumes used by that prince were put, Alexander, who was quite covered with dust, and regardless of essences and perfumes, ordered, that this box should be employed to no other use than to hold Homer's poems; which he believed the most perfect, the most complete production of the human mind. He admired particularly the Iliad, which he called, The best provision for a warrior. He always had with him that edition of Homer which Aristotle had revised and corrected, and to which the title of the Edition of the Box was given: and he laid it with his sword every night under his pillow.

Fond, even to excess, of every kind of glory, he was displeased with Aristotle his master, for having published, in his absence, certain metaphysical pieces, which he himself desired to possess exclusively of all others; and even at the time when he was employed in the conquest of Asia, and the pursuit of Darius, he wrote to him a letter, which is still extant, wherein he complains upon that very account. Alexander says in it, That he had much rather surpass the rest of men in the knowledge of sublime and excellent things, than in the greatness and extent of his power. He in like manner requested Aristotle not to shew the treatise of rhetoric above mentioned to any person but to himself.

He had also a taste for the whole circle of arts,



but in such a manner as became a prince ; that is, he knew the value and usefulness of them. Music, painting, sculpture, architecture, flourished in his reign ; because they found him both a skilful judge and a generous protector ; who was able to distinguish and to reward merit.

But he despised certain trifling feats of dexterity, that were of no use. Some Macedonians admired very much a man, who employed himself very attentively in throwing small peas through the eye of a needle ; which he would do at a considerable distance, and without once missing. Alexander seeing him at this exercise, ordered him, as we are told, a present suitable to his employment ; *viz.* a basket of peas.

Alexander was of a sprightly disposition, was resolute, and very tenacious of his opinion, which never gave way to force, but at the same time would submit immediately to reason and good sense. It is very difficult to treat with persons of this turn of mind : Philip accordingly, notwithstanding his double authority of king and father, believed it necessary to employ persuasion rather than force with respect to his son, and endeavoured to make himself beloved rather than feared by him.

An accident made him entertain a very advantageous opinion of Alexander. There had been sent from Thessaly to Philip a war-horse ; a noble, strong, fiery, generous beast, called

Bucephalus. The owner would not sell him under thirteen talents ; an immense sum ! The king went into the plains, attended by his courtiers, in order to view the perfections of this horse ; but, upon trial, he appeared so very fierce, and pranced about in so furious a manner, that no one dared to mount him. Philip being angry that so furious and unmanageable a creature had been sent him, gave orders for their carrying him back again. Alexander, who was present at that time, cried out, " What a noble horse we are going to lose, for want of address and boldness to back him !" Philip at first considered these words as the effect of folly and rashness, so common to young men ; but as Alexander insisted still more upon what he had said, and was very much vexed to see so noble a creature just going to be sent home again, his father gave him leave to try what he could do. The young prince overjoyed at this permission, goes up to Bucephalus, takes hold of the bridle, and turns his head to the sun, having observed, that the thing which frightened him, was his own shadow ; Alexander therefore first stroked him gently with his hand, and soothed him with his voice ; then seeing his fierceness abate, and artfully taking this opportunity, he let fall his cloak, and springing swiftly upon his back, first slackened the reign, without once striking or vexing him ; and when he perceived that his fire was cooled, that he was no longer so furious

and violent, and wanted only to move forward, he gave him that rein, and spurring him with great vigour, animated him with his voice to his full speed. While this was doing, Philip and his whole court trembled for fear, and did not once open their lips ; but when the prince, after having run his first heat, returned with joy and pride, at his having broke a horse which was judged absolutely ungovernable, all the courtiers in general endeavoured to outvie one another in their applauses and congratulations ; and we are told, Philip shed tears of joy on this occasion ; and embracing Alexander, after he was alighted, and kissing him, he said to him, “ My son, seek a kingdom more worthy of thee, “ for Macedon is below thy merit.”

Alexander upon his accession to the throne, saw himself surrounded with extreme dangers ; the barbarous nations with whom Philip contended during his whole reign, thought this change for their advantage, and despising the youth and inexperience of the young monarch, resolved to seize this opportunity of regaining their freedom, for satiating themselves with plunder : nor had he less to fear from the Greeks themselves, who now thought this a convenient opportunity to restore their ancient form of government, revenge their former injuries, and reclaim those rights which they had enjoyed for ages.

Alexander, however, resolved to prevent their



machinations, and to give them no time to complete their confederacies against him. After taking revenge upon the conspirators against his father, whom he slew upon his tomb, he first conciliated the affections of the Macedonians to him, by freeing them from a vexatious and bodily slavery, only commanding their service in wars.

The Macedonians reflecting on his precarious situation, advised him to relinquish Greece, and not persist in his resolution of subduing it by force; to recover by gentle methods the barbarians who had taken arms; and to soothe, as it were, those glimmerings of revolt and innovation, by prudent reserve, complacency, and insinuations, in order to conciliate their affections. However, Alexander would not listen to those timorous counsels, but resolved to secure and support his affairs, by boldness and magnanimity; firmly persuaded, that should he relax in any point at first, all his neighbours would fall upon him; and that were he to endeavour to compromise matters, he would be obliged to give up all Philip's conquests, and by that means confine his dominions to the narrow limits of Macedon. He therefore made all possible haste to check the arms of the barbarians, by marching his troops to the banks of the Danube, which he crossed in one night. He defeated the king of the Triballi in a great battle; made the Getæ fly at his approach; and subdued several other barbarous nations, some



by the terror of his name, and others by the force of his arms; and notwithstanding the arrogant answers of their ambassadors, he taught them to dread a danger, which they found but too ready to overwhelm them.

Whilst Alexander was thus employed at a distance against the barbarians, all the cities of Greece, and chiefly those who were animated by the eloquence of Demosthenes, formed a powerful alliance against him. A false report which prevailed of his death, inspired the Thebans with a boldness that proved their ruin. They cut to pieces part of the Macedonian garrison in their citadel. Demosthenes, on the other side was every day haranguing the people; and fired with contempt for Alexander, who he called a child and a hair-brained boy, he assured the Athenians, with a decisive tone of voice, that they had nothing to fear from the new king of Macedon, who did not dare to stir out of his kingdom, but would think himself vastly happy could he sit peaceably on his throne. At the same time he wrote letters upon letters to Attalus, one of Philip's lieutenants in Asia Minor, to excite him to rebel. This Attalus was uncle to Cleopatra, Philip's second wife, and was very much disposed to listen to Demosthenes' proposals. Nevertheless, as Alexander was grown very diffident of him, for which he knew there was but too much reason, he, therefore, to eradicate from his mind all the

suspicious he might entertain, and the better to screen his designs, sent all Demosthenes' letters to that prince : but Alexander saw through all his artifices, and thereupon ordered Hecataeus, one of his commanders, whom he had sent into Asia for that purpose, to have him assassinated, which was executed accordingly. Attalus's death restored tranquillity to the army, and entirely destroyed the seeds of discord and rebellion.

The object which seized Alexander's earliest ambition, was the conquest of Persia ; and he now expected that he would have leisure and opportunity to prepare for so great an enterprise ; but he was soon called to a new undertaking. The Athenians, Thebans, and Lacedæmonians, united against him ; hoping, by the assistance of Persia, to recover their former freedom. In order to persuade the Greeks to this, Demosthenes made use of a device, which had more cunning in it than wisdom. He caused it to be reported, that Alexander was slain in a battle against the Triballi ; and he produced a man to the assembly, who ventured to affirm, that he was present, and wounded, when his general was slain. These false reports, which serve for a day, are but bad policy ; like a false alarm in battle the people may sometimes be mocked by them ; but in the end, the success will prove as ridiculous as the invention ; for those that find themselves at one

time abused by such, will, at other times, neglect the real call of truth. This unfortunate confederation obliged Alexander to turn his sword from the Persians against the Greeks, of whose assistance he had but just before assured himself.

Expedition and activity were the characteristics of this monarch's conduct. Having heard of the slaughter of the Macedonian garrison of Thebes, and of the union formed against him by the Athenians, Thebans, and Lacedæmonians, he immediately put his army in motion. He passed over the craggy top of Mount Ossa, to elude the Thessalians, who had possessed themselves of the defiles lying between Thessaly and Macedon, and moved on with such rapidity, that his appearance in Greece gave the first news of his preparation for war. He appeared so suddenly in Bœotia; that the Thebans could scarce believe their eyes; and being come before their walls, was willing to give them time to repent; and only demanded to have Phœnix and Prothules, the two chief ringleaders of the revolt, delivered up to him; and published, by sound of trumpet, a general pardon to all who should come over to him. But the Thebans, by way of insult, demanded to have Philotas and Antipater delivered to them; and invited, by a declaration, all who were solicitous for the liberty of Greece to join with them in its defence.

Alexander, finding it impossible for him to get the better of their obstinacy by offers of peace, saw with grief that he would be forced to employ his power, and decide the affair by force of arms. A great battle was thereupon fought, in which the Thebans exerted themselves with a bravery and ardour much beyond their strength, for the enemy exceeded them vastly in numbers. But after a long and vigorous resistance, such as survived of the Macedonian garrison in the citadel, coming down from it, and charging the Thebans in the rear, who being surrounded on all sides, the greatest part of them were cut to pieces, and the city taken and plundered.

It would be impossible for words to express the dreadful calamities which the Thebans suffered on this occasion. Some Thracians having pulled down the house of a virtuous lady of quality, Timoclea by name, carried off all her goods and treasures; and their captain having seized the lady and satiated his brutal lust with her, afterwards enquired whether she had not concealed gold and silver, Timoclea, animated by an ardent desire of revenge, replying, That she had hid some, took him with herself only into the garden, and shewing him a well, told him, That the instant she saw the enemy enter the city, she herself had thrown into it the most precious things in her possession. The officer, overjoyed at what he heard, drew near the well, and stoop-



ing down to see its depth, Timoclea, who was behind, pushing him with all her strength, threw him in, and afterwards killed him with great stones, which she heaped upon him. She was instantly seized by the Thracians, and being bound in chains, was carried before Alexander. The prince immediately perceived, by her mien, that she was a woman of quality and great spirit, for she followed those brutal wretches with a very haughty air, and without discovering the least fear. Alexander asking her who she was, Timoclea replied, "I am sister to Theagenes, who fought against Philip for the liberty of Greece, and was killed in the battle of Chæronea, where he commanded." The prince, admiring her generous answer, and still more the action that she had done, gave orders that she should have leave to retire wherever she pleased with her children.

Alexander then debated in council how to act with regard to Thebes. The Phocians, and the people of Plataea, Thespiæ, and Orchomenus, who were all in alliance with Alexander, and shared in his victory, represented to him the cruel treatment they had met with from the Thebans, who also had destroyed their several cities, and reproached them with the zeal which they always discovered in favour of the Persians against the Greeks, who held them in the utmost detestation; the proof of which was, the oath

they had all taken to destroy Thebes, after they should have vanquished the Persians.

Cleades, one of the prisoners, being permitted to speak, endeavoured to excuse, in some measure, the revolt of the Thebans; a fault which, in his opinion, should be imputed to a rash and credulous imprudence, rather than to depravity of will or declared perfidy. He remonstrated, that his countrymen, upon a false report of Alexander's death, had, indeed, too rashly broke out into rebellion; not against the king, however, but against his successors; that what crimes soever they might have committed, they had been punished for them with the utmost severity, by the dreadful calamity which had befallen their city; that there now remained in it none but women, children, and old men, from whom they had nothing to fear, and who were so much the greater objects of compassion, as they had been no ways concerned in the revolt. He concluded with reminding Alexander that Thebes, which had given birth to so many gods and heroes, several of whom were that king's ancestors, had also been the seat of his father Philip's rising glory, and like a second native country to him.

These motives which Cleades urged were very strong and powerful; nevertheless, the anger of the conqueror prevailed, and the city was destroyed. However, he set at liberty the priests;

all such as had a right of hospitality with the Macedonians; the descendants of Pindar, the famous poet, who had done so much to Greece; and such as had opposed the revolt. But all the rest, in number about thirty thousand he sold ! and upwards of six thousand had been killed in battle. The Athenians were so sensibly afflicted at the sad disaster which had befallen Thebes, that being about to solemnize the festival of the Great Mysteries, they suspended them upon account of their extreme grief; and received, with the greatest humanity, all those who had fled from the battle, and the plunder of Thebes, and made Athens their asylum.

Alexander's sudden arrival in Greece, had very much abated the haughtiness of the Athenians, and extinguished Demosthenes's vehemence and fire; but the ruin of Thebes, which was still more sudden, threw them into the utmost consternation. They therefore had recourse to entreaties, and a deputation to Alexander to implore his clemency; Demosthenes was among them; but he was no sooner arrived at Mount Cytheron, than dreading the anger of that prince, he quitted the embassy, and returned home.

Immediately Alexander sent to Athens, requiring the citizens to deliver up to him ten orators, whom he supposed to have been the chief instruments in forming the league which Philip, his father, had defeated at Chæronea.

It was on this occasion that Demosthenes related to the people the fable of the wolves and the dogs; in which it is supposed, That the wolves one day told the sheep, that in case they desired to be at peace with them, they must deliver up to them the dogs who were their guard. The application was easy and natural; especially with respect to the orators, who were justly compared to dogs, whose duty it was to watch, to bark, and to fight, in order to save the lives of the flock.

In this afflicting dilemma of the Athenians, who could not prevail with themselves to deliver up their orators to certain death, though they had no other way to save their city, Demades, whom Alexander had honoured with his friendship, offered to undertake the embassy alone, and intercede for them. The king, whether he had satiated his revenge, or endeavoured to blot out, if possible, by some act of clemency, the barbarous action he had just before committed, or rather to remove the several obstacles which might retard the execution of his grand design, and by that means not leave, during his absence, the least pretence for murmurs, waved his demand with regard to the delivery of the orators, and was pacified by their sending Caridemus into banishment; who being a native of Oræa, had been presented by the Athenians with his freedom, for the services he had done the republic. He was son-in-law to Chersobleptus,



king of Thrace : had learned the art of war under Iphicrates ; and had himself frequently commanded the Athenian armies. To avoid the pursuit of Alexander, he took refuge with the king of Persia.

As for the Athenians, he not only forgave them the several injuries he pretended to have received, but expressed a particular regard for them, exhorting them to apply themselves vigorously to public affairs, and to keep a watchful eye over the several transactions which might happen ; because in case of his death, their city was to give laws to the rest of Greece. Historians relate, that many years after this expedition, he was seized with deep remorse for the calamity he had brought upon the Thebans ; and that this made him behave with much greater humanity towards many other nations.

So dreadful an example of severity towards so powerful a city as Thebes, spread the terror of his arms through all Greece, and made all things give way before him. He summoned at Corinth, the assembly of the several states and free cities of Greece, to obtain from them the same supreme command against the Persians, which had been granted to his father a little before his death. No assembly ever debated upon a more important subject. It was the western world deliberating upon the ruin of the east ; and the methods for executing a revenge

which had been suspended more than an age. The assembly held at this time, gave rise to events, the relation of which appear astonishing, and almost incredible; and to revolutions, which contributed to change the disposition of most things in the political world.

To form such a design, required a prince bold, enterprising, and experienced in war; one of great views, who, having a great name by his exploits, was not to be intimidated by dangers, nor checked by obstacles; but, above all, a monarch, who had a supreme authority over all the states of Greece, none of which, singly, was powerful enough to make so arduous an attempt; and which required, in order to their acting in concert, to be subject to one chief, who might give motion to the several parts of that great body, by making them all concur to the same end. Such a prince was Alexander. It was not difficult for him to rekindle in the minds of the people their ancient hatred of the Persians, their perpetual and irreconcilable enemies; whose destruction they had more than once sworn, and whom they had determined to extirpate, in case an opportunity should present itself for that purpose; a hatred which the intestine feuds of the Greeks might indeed have suspended, but could never extinguish. The immortal retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, notwithstanding the vigorous opposition of the prodigious army of the Persians,

shewed plainly what might be expected from an army composed of the flower of the forces of all the cities of Greece, and those of Macedonia, commanded by generals and officers formed under Philip ; and, to say all in a word, led by Alexander. The deliberations of the assembly were therefore short. The Spartans were the only people who ventured to remonstrate ; though several others were inimical to the interests of the Macedonians. Mindful of their former independence and greatness, they told Alexander, that “ the Lacedæmonians were accustomed to point out the way to glorious deeds, and not to be directed by others.” But they were obliged to submit to the prevailing sense of the assembly ; and Alexander was, of course, appointed generalissimo against the Persians.

Immediately a great number of officers, and governors of cities, with many philosophers, waited upon Alexander, to congratulate him upon his election. He flattered himself, that Diogenes of Synope, who was then at Corinth, would also come like the rest, and pay his compliments. This philosopher, who entertained a very mean idea of grandeur, thought it improper to congratulate men just upon their exaltation ; but that mankind ought to wait till those persons should perform actions worthy of their high stations. Diogenes, therefore, still continued at home ; upon which Alexander, at-

tended by all his courtiers, made him a visit. The philosopher was at that time lying down in the sun ; but seeing so great a crowd of people advancing towards him, he sat up, and fixed his eyes on Alexander. This prince, surprized to behold so famous a philosopher living in such extreme poverty, after saluting him in the kindest manner, asked, Whether he wanted any thing ? Diogenes replied, " Only that you would stand a little out of my sun-shine." This answer raised the contempt and indignation of all the courtiers ; but the monarch struck with the philosopher's greatness of soul, " Were I not Alexander," says he, " I would be Diogenes." In a word, all or nothing presents us with the true image of Alexander and Diogenes. How great and powerful soever that prince might think himself, he could not deny but that he was less happy than a man to whom he could give, and from whom he could take nothing.

Alexander, before he set out for Asia, was determined to consult the oracle of Apollo. He therefore went to Delphos, where he happened to arrive in those days which are called unlucky ; a season in which people were forbid consulting the oracle ; and accordingly the priestess refused to go to the temple. But Alexander, who could not bear any contradiction to his will, took her forcibly by the arm, and as he was leading her to the temple, she cried out, " My son, thou art irresistible."



This was all he desired ; and catching hold of these words, which he considered as spoke by the oracle, he set out for Macedonia, in order to make preparations for his great expedition.

Alexander being arrived in his kingdom, held a council with the chief officers of his army, and the nobles of his court, on the expedition he meditated against Persia, and the measures he should take in order to succeed in it. The whole assembly were unanimous, except in one article. Antipater and Parmenio were of opinion, that the king, before he engaged in an enterprize which would necessarily be a long one, ought to make choice of a consort, in order to secure himself a successor to his throne. But Alexander, who was of a violent fiery temper, did not approve of this advice; and believed that after he had been nominated generalissimo of the Greeks, and that his father had left him an invincible army, it would be a shame for him to lose his time in solemnizing his nuptials, and waiting for the fruits of it : for which reason he determined to set out immediately.

Accordingly he offered up very splendid sacrifices to the gods, and caused to be celebrated at Dia, a city of Macedon, scenical games that had been instituted by one of his ancestors, in honour of Jupiter and the Muses. This festival continued nine days, agreeable to the number of those goddesses. He had a tent

raised large enough to hold an hundred tables, on which consequently nine hundred covers might be laid. To this feast the several princes of his family, all the ambassadors, generals and officers were invited.

Before he set out upon his great expedition, he settled the affairs of Macedon, over which he appointed Antipater as viceroy, with twelve thousand foot, and near the same number of horse. He also enquired into the domestic affairs of his friends, giving to one an estate in land, to another a village, to a third the revenues of a town, to a fourth the toll of an harbour. As all the revenues of his demesnes were already employed and exhausted by his donations, Perdicas said to him, "My lord, what is it you reserve for yourself?" Alexander replied, "Hope:" upon which Perdicas said, "the same hope ought therefore to satisfy us;" and so refused very generously to accept of what the king had appointed him.

After having completely settled his affairs in Macedonia, and used all the precautions imaginable to prevent any troubles from arising in it during his absence, he set out for Asia in the beginning of the spring. His army consisted of little more than thirty thousand foot, and four or five thousand horse; but then they were all brave men, well disciplined, and enured to fatigue. They had made several campaigns under Philip, and were each of them in case of

necessity, capable of commanding ; most of the officers were near threescore years of age, and the common men fifty ; and when they were either assembled or drawn up at the head of a camp, they had the air of a venerable senate. Parmenio commanded the infantry ; Philotas, his son, had eighteen hundred horse under him ; and Callas, the son of Harpalus, the same number of Thessalian cavalry. The rest of the horse were composed of natives of the several states of Greece ; they amounted to six hundred, and had a separate commander. The Thracians and Pæonians, who were always in front, were headed by Cassander. Such was the army which was to decide the fortune, not only of Greece, but of all the eastern world. Alexander began his march along the lake Cærcinum, towards Amphipolis : crossed the river Strymon, near its mouth ; afterwards the Hebrus, and arrived at Sestos after twenty days march. He then commanded Parmenio to cross over from Sestos to Abydos, with all the horse and part of the foot ; which he accordingly did with the assistance of an hundred and threescore gallies, and several flat-bottomed vessels, while he himself crossed over the Hellespont, steering his galley with his own hands ; when he arrived near the shore, as if to take possession of the continent, he leaped from his ship in complete armour, and testified many transports of joy.

This confidence soon began to diffuse itself over all the rest of his army ; it inspired his soldiers with so much courage and security, that they fancied themselves marching not to a precarious war, but a certain victory.

It has often been thought strange, that no measures were adopted by the Persians to stop the progress of the Macedonian army ; more especially as they had been apprized of Alexander's intentions a considerable time before he quitted Macedon. Persia was, at that time, in possession of a very numerous and powerful fleet, while that of the Macedonians was small, and their seamen unaccustomed to naval evolutions. It would therefore appear, that if the Persian fleet had repaired speedily to the Hellespont, and there brought the enemy to an engagement, they might have checked their aspiring foe in the outset, and so have saved both their honour and their empire. What could be their reason for omitting so fair an opportunity of averting the blow that was soon to crush them, is not a question of easy solution. Perhaps Darius and his ministers thought themselves secure, on account of the great superiority of their troops in point of number ; or were so sunk in luxury and effeminacy, that their ruin was well nigh effected before they were roused from their lethargy. From whatever cause their supineness arose, they seem to



have been infatuated. They seem to have been, from the beginning, the devoted victims of Alexander's resentment and ambition.

Being arrived at the city of Lampsacus, which Alexander was determined to destroy, in order to punish the rebellion of its inhabitants, Anaximenes, a native of that place, came to him. This man, who was a famous historian, had been very intimate with Philip his father; and Alexander himself had a great esteem for him, having been his pupil. The king suspecting the business he came upon, to be beforehand with him, swore, in express terms, that he would never grant his request. The favour I have to desire of you, says Anaximenes, is, that you will destroy Lampsacus. By this witty evasion the historian saved his country.

From thence Alexander went to Troy, where he paid great honours to the shade of Achilles, and caused games to be celebrated round his tomb. He admired and envied the felicity of that Grecian hero, in having found, during life, a faithful friend in Patroclus, and after death a noble panegyrist in Homer.

When the news of Alexander's landing in Asia was brought to Darius, he testified the utmost contempt for the Macedonian army, and indignation at the presumption of their generals. In a letter which he wrote, he reprehended this audacious insolence, and gave orders to his various governors in the different parts of his

dominions, that if they took Alexander alive, to whip him with rods, make prisoners of his whole army, and send them as slaves to one of the most deserted parts of his dominions. Thus confiding in the glittering but barbarous multitude which he commanded, he disposed of the enemy as already vanquished ; but confidence goes but a short part of the road to success. The great numbers which he had gathered, only brought unwieldy splendor into the field, and instead of procuring him security, encreased his embarrassments.

Alexander being at length arrived on the banks of the Granicus, a river of Phrygia, found the Persians disposed to dispute his passage. The Persian satrap taking possession of the higher banks, at the head of an army of one hundred thousand foot, and upwards of ten thousand horse, seemed to promise himself victory. Memnon, who was a Rhodian, and commanded under Darius all the coast of Asia, had advised the generals not to venture a battle, but to lay waste the plains, and even the cities, thereby to starve Alexander's army, and oblige him to return back into Europe. Memnon was the best of all Darius's generals, and had been the principal agent in his victories. It is not easy to determine what we ought to admire most in him ; whether his great wisdom in council, his courage and capacity in the field, or his zeal and attachment to his sovereign,

The counsel he gave on this occasion was excellent, when we consider that his enemy was fiery and impetuous ; had neither town, magazine, nor place of retreat ; that he was entering a country to which he was absolutely a stranger, and inhabited by enemies ; that delays alone would weaken and ruin him ; and that his only hopes lay in giving battle immediately. But Arsites, a Phrygian satrap, opposed the opinion of Memnon, and protested he would never suffer the Grecians to make such havock in the territories he governed. This ill counsel prevailed over that of the Rhodian, whom the Persians, to their great prejudice, suspected of a design to protract the war, and by that means of making himself necessary to Darius.

Alexander, in the mean time, marched on at the head of his heavy-armed infantry, drawn up in two lines, with the cavalry in the wings, and the baggage following in the rear. Being arrived upon the banks of the Granicus, Parmenio advised him to encamp there in battle array, in order that his forces might have time to rest themselves, and not to pass the river till very early next morning, because the enemy would then be less able to prevent him ; he added, that it would be too dangerous to attempt crossing a river in sight of an enemy, especially as that before them was deep, and its banks very craggy ; so that the Persian cavalry, who waited their coming in battle array

on the other side, might easily defeat them before they were drawn up; that besides the loss which would be sustained on this occasion, this enterprize, in case it should prove unsuccessful, would be of dangerous consequence to their future affairs; the fame and glory of arms depending on the first actions.

However, these reasons were not able to make the least impression on Alexander, who declared that it would be a shame should he, after crossing the Hellespont, suffer his progress to be retarded by a rivulet, for so he called the Granicus out of contempt; that they ought to take advantage of the terror which the suddenness of his arrival, and the boldness of his attempt, had spread among the Persians, and answer the high opinion the world conceived of his courage, and the valour of the Macedonians. The enemy's horse, which were very numerous, lined the whole shore, and formed a large front, in order to oppose Alexander wherever he should endeavour to pass; and the foot, which consisted chiefly of Greeks in Darius's service, were posted behind, upon an easy ascent.

The two armies continued a long time in sight of each other, on the banks of the river, as if dreading the event. The Persians waited till the Macedonians should enter the river, in order to charge them to advantage upon their landing, and the latter seemed to be making choice of a place proper for crossing, and to



survey the countenance of their enemies. Upon this, Alexander ordered his horse to be brought, commanded the noblemen of the court to follow him, and behave gallantly. He himself commanded the right wing, and Parmenio the left. The king first caused a strong detachment to march into the river, himself following it with the rest of the forces. He made Parmenio advance afterwards with the left wing : he himself led on the right wing into the river, followed by the rest of the troops ; the trumpets sounding and the whole army raising cries of joy.

The Persians, seeing this detachment advance forward, began to let fly their arrows, and march to a place where the declivity was not so great, in order to keep the Macedonians from landing. But now the horse engaged with great fury, one part endeavouring to land, and the other striving to prevent them. The Macedonians, whose cavalry was vastly inferior in number, besides the disadvantage of the ground, were wounded with the darts that were shot from the eminence ; not to mention that the flower of the Persian horse were drawn together in this place, and that Memnon, in concert with his sons, commanded there. The Macedonians, therefore, at first gave ground, after having lost the first ranks, which made a vigorous defence. Alexander, who followed them close, and reinforced them with his best troops, headed them himself, animated them by his presence, pushed the

Persians, and routed them; upon which the whole army followed after, crossed the river, and attacked the enemy on all sides.

Alexander first charged the thickest part of the enemy's horse, in which the generals fought. He himself was particularly conspicuous by his shield, and the plume of feathers that overshadowed his helmet, on the two sides of which there rose two wings, as it were of a great length, and so vastly white, that they dazzled the eyes of the beholder. The charge was very furious about his person; and though only the horse engaged, they fought like foot, man to man, without giving way on either side; every one striving to repulse his adversary, and gain ground of him. Spithrobates, lieutenant-governor of Ionia, and son-in-law to Darius, distinguished himself above the rest of the generals by his superior bravery. Being surrounded by forty Persian lords, all of them his relations of experienced valour, and who never moved from his side, he carried terror wherever he went. Alexander observing in how gallant a manner he signalized himself, clapt spurs to his horse, and advanced towards him. Immediately they engaged, and each having thrown a javelin, wounded the other slightly. Spithrobates falls furiously sword in hand upon Alexander, who being prepared for him, thrusts his pike into his face, and laid him dead at his feet. At that very moment Rasaces, brother to that

nobleman, charging him on the side, gave him so furious a blow on the head with his battle-axe, that he beat off his plume, but went no deeper than the hair. As he was going to repeat his blow on the head, which now appeared through his fractured helmet, Clitus cut off Rasaces's hand with one stroke of his cimeter, and by that means saved his sovereign's life. The danger to which Alexander had been exposed, greatly animated the courage of his soldiers, who now performed wonders. The Persians in the centre of the horse, upon whom the light-armed troops, who had been posted in the intervals of the horse, poured a perpetual discharge of darts, being unable to sustain any longer the attack of the Macedonians, who struck them all in the face, the two wings were immediately broke, and put to flight. Alexander did not pursue them long, but turned about immediately to charge the foot.

These at first stood their ground, but when they saw themselves attacked at the same time by the cavalry, and the Macedonian phalanx which had crossed the river, and that the battalions were now engaged, those of the Persians did not make either a long or a vigorous resistance, and were soon put to flight; the Grecian infantry in Darius's service excepted. This body of foot retiring to a hill, demanded a promise from Alexander to let them march away unmolested; but following the dictates of

his wrath, rather than those of reason, he rushed into the midst of this body of foot, and presently lost his horse, who was killed with the thrust of a sword. The battle was so hot round him, that most of the Macedonians, who lost their lives on this occasion, fell here; for they fought against a body of men who were well disciplined, had been inured to war, and fought in despair. They were all cut to pieces, two thousand excepted, who were taken prisoners.

A great number of the Persian commanders lay dead on the spot. Aristes fled into Phrygia, where it is said he laid violent hands on himself, for having been the cause that the battle was fought. Twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, were killed in this engagement, on the side of the barbarians; and of the Macedonians twenty-five of the royal horse were killed at the first attack. Alexander ordered Lysippus to make their statues in brass, all of which were set up in a city of Macedon, called Dia, from whence they were, many years after, carried to Rome, by Metellus. About threescore of the other horse were killed, and near thirty foot, who, the next day, were all laid with their arms and equipage in one grave; and the king granted an exemption to their fathers and children from every kind of tribute and service.

He also took the utmost care of the wounded, visited them, and saw their wounds dressed. He



enquired very particularly into their adventures, and permitted every one of them to relate his actions in the battle, and boast of his bravery. He also granted the rights of sepulture to the principal Persians, and did not even refuse it to such Greeks as died in the Persian service ; but all those whom he took prisoners he laid in chains, and sent to work as slaves in Macedonia, for having fought under the barbarian standard against their country, contrary to the express prohibition made by Greece upon that head.

Alexander made it his duty and pleasure to share the honour of his victory with the Greeks; and sent to the Athenians three hundred shields, being part of the plunder taken from the enemy, and caused the glorious inscription following to be inscribed on the rest of the spoils : —“ *Alexander, son of Philip, with the Greeks, (the Lacedæmonians excepted) gained these spoils from the barbarians, who inhabit Asia.*” The greatest part of the gold and silver plate, the purple carpets, and other articles of Persian luxury, he sent to his mother.

This victory not only impressed the Persians with consternation, but served to excite the ardour of the invading army. The Persians perceiving that the Greeks were able to overcome them, though possessed of manifest advantages, supposed that they never could be able to face them upon equal terms ; and thus; from the first mischance, they gave up all hopes

of succeeding by valour. Indeed, in all invasions where the nations invaded have been once beaten, with great advantages of situation on their side, such as defensive rivers, straits, and mountains, they have always persuaded themselves, that upon equal terms, such an enemy must be irresistible. It is the opinion of Machiavel, that he who resolves to defend a passage, should do it with his ablest forces ; for few regions of any circuit are so well defended by nature, that armies of such force as may be thought sufficient to conquer them, cannot break through the natural difficulties of the entrance ; one passage or other is commonly left unguarded ; and some place weakly defended will be the cause of a fatal triumph to the invaders. How often have the Alps given way to armies breaking into Italy ? and though they produced dreadful difficulties and dangers among those that scaled them, yet they were never found to give security to those that lay behind. It was therefore wisely done of Alexander to pass the river in the face of the enemy, without marching higher to seek an easier passage, or labouring to convey his men over it by some safer method. Having beaten the enemy upon their own terms, he no less destroyed their reputation than their strength, leaving the wretched subjects of such a state no hopes of succour from such unable protectors.

Soon after the battle of Granicus he re-

covered Sardis from the enemy, which was in a manner the bulwark of the Barbarian empire on the side next the sea. He took the inhabitants under his protection, received their nobles with the utmost condescension, and permitted them to be governed by their own laws and maxims; observing to his friends around him, That such as lay the foundations of a new dominion, should always endeavour to have the fame of being merciful. Four days after, he arrived at Ephesus, carrying with him those who had been banished from thence for being his adherents, and restored its popular form of government. He assigned to the temple of Diana the tributes which were paid to the kings of Persia. Before he left Ephesus, the deputies of the cities of Trallis and Magnesia waited upon him with the keys of those places.

He afterwards marched to Miletus; which city, flattered with the hopes of a sudden and powerful support, shut their gates against him; and, indeed, the Persian fleet, which was very considerable, made a shew as if it would succour that city; but after having made several fruitless attempts to engage that of the enemy, it was intimidated, and forced to retire. Memnon had shut himself up in this fortress, with a great number of his soldiers who had escaped from the battle, and was determined to make a vigorous defence. Alexander, who would not lose a moment's time, attacked it, and planted

scaling ladders on all sides. The scalade was carried on with great vigour, and opposed with no less intrepidity, though Alexander sent fresh troops to relieve those that had been on duty; without the least intermission; and this lasted several days. At last, finding his soldiers were every where repulsed, and that the city was provided with every thing for a long siege, he planted all his machines against it, made a great number of breaches, and whenever these were attacked, a new scalade was attempted. The besieged, after sustaining all these efforts with prodigious bravery, capitulated, to prevent being taken by storm. Alexander treated the Milesians with the utmost humanity, but sold all the foreigners who were found in it.

After possessing himself of Miletus, he marched into Caria, in order to lay siege to Halicarnassus. This city was of prodigious difficult access, from its happy situation, and had been strongly fortified. Besides, Memnon, the ablest as well as the most valiant of all Darius's commanders, had got into it with a body of choice soldiers, with a design to signalize his courage, and fidelity for his sovereign. He accordingly made a very noble defence, in which he was seconded by Ephialtes, another general of great merit. Whatever could be expected from the most intrepid bravery, and the most consummate knowledge in the science of war, was conspicuous on both sides on this occasion.



Memnon, finding it impossible for him to hold out any longer, was forced to abandon the city. As the sea was open to him, after having put a strong garrison into the citadel, which was well stored with provisions, he took with him the surviving inhabitants, with all their riches, and conveyed them into the island of Cos, which was not far from Halicarnassus. Alexander did not think proper to besiege the citadel, it being of little importance after the city was destroyed, which he demolished to the very foundations. He left it after having encompassed it with strong walls, and stationed some good troops in the country.

Soon after this, he restored Ada, queen of Caria, to her kingdom, of which she had been dispossessed some time before: and, as a testimony of the deep sense she had of the favours received from Alexander, she sent him every day meats dressed in the most exquisite manner, and the most excellent cooks of every kind. Alexander answered the queen on this occasion, That all this train was of no service to him, for that he was possessed of much better cooks, whom Leonidas his governor had given him: one of whom prepared him a good dinner, and the other an excellent supper, and those were Temperance and Exercise.

Several kings of Asia Minor submitted voluntarily to Alexander. Mithridates, king of Pontus, was one of these, who afterwards adhered

to this prince, and followed him in his expeditions. He was son to Ariobarzanes, governor of Phrygia, and king of Pontus, of whom mention has been made elsewhere. He is computed to be the sixteenth king from Artabanus, who is considered as the founder of that kingdom, of which he was put in possession by Darius, son of Hystaspes, his father. The famous Mithridates, who so long employed the Roman armies, was one of his successors.

The year ensuing Alexander began the campaign very early. He had debated whether it would be proper for him to march directly against Darius, or first subdue the rest of the maritime provinces. The latter opinion appeared the safest, since he thereby would not be molested by such nations as he should leave behind him. This progress was a little interrupted at first. Near Phaselis, a city situated between Lysia and Pamphylia, is a defile along the sea shore, which is always dry at low water, so that travellers may pass it at that time; but when the sea rises, it is all under water. As it was now winter, Alexander, whom nothing could daunt, was desirous of passing it before the waters fell. His forces were therefore obliged to march a whole day in the water, which came up to their waist.

Alexander, after having settled affairs in Cilicia and Pamphylia, marched his army to Celænæ, a city of Phrygia, watered by the river

Marsyas, which the fictions of poets have made so famous. He summoned the garrison of the citadel, whither the inhabitants were retired, to surrender; but these believing it impregnable, answered haughtily, That they would first die. However, finding the attack carried on with great vigour, they desired a truce of sixty days, at the expiration of which they promised to open their gates, in case they were not succoured. And accordingly, no aid arriving, they surrendered themselves upon the day fixed.

From thence he marched into Phrygia, the ancient dominion of the celebrated king Midas; having taken the capital city, he was desirous of seeing the famous chariot to which the Gordian knot was tied. This knot, which fastened the yoke to the beam, was tied with so much intricacy, that it was impossible to discover where the ends began, or how they were concealed. According to an ancient tradition of the country, an oracle had foretold, that the man who could untie it, should possess the empire of Asia. Alexander being firmly persuaded that the oracle was meant for him, after many fruitless trials, instead of attempting to untie it in the usual manner, drew his sword, and cut it to pieces, crying out, That that was the only way to untie it. The priest hailed the omen, and declared that Alexander had fulfilled the oracle.

Darius, who now began to be more alarmed than before, used all the art in his power to raise

an army, and encourage his forces. He sent Memnon into Greece to invade Macedon, in order to make a diversion of the Grecian forces: but this general dying upon that expedition, Darius's hopes vanished on that quarter; and instead of invading the enemy, he was obliged to consult for the protection of his empire at home.

In the mean time, Alexander having left Gordion, marched into Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, which he subdued. It was there he heard of Memnon's death; the news whereof confirmed him in the resolution he had taken, of marching immediately into the provinces of Upper Asia. Accordingly he advanced, by hasty marches, into Cilicia, and arrived in the country called Cyrus's Camp. From thence there is no more than fifty stadia (two leagues and a half each) to the pass of Cilicia, which is a very narrow strait, through which travellers are obliged to go from Cappadocia to Tarsus. The officer who guarded it in Darius's name, had left but few soldiers in it; and those fled the instant they heard of the enemy's arrival. Upon this, Alexander entered the pass, and after viewing very attentively the situation of the place, admired his own good fortune, and confessed, He might have been very easily stopped and defeated there, merely by the throwing of stones; for not to mention that this pass was so narrow, that four men completely armed, could



scarcely walk abreast in it; the top of the mountain hung over the road, which was not only strait but broke in several places, by the fall of torrents from the mountains.

Alexander marched his whole army to the city of Tarsus, where it arrived the instant the Persians were setting fire to that place, to prevent his plundering the great riches of so flourishing a city. But Parmenio, whom the king had sent thither with a detachment of horse, arrived very seasonably to stop the progress of the fire, and marched into the city, which he saved, the barbarians having fled the moment they heard of his arrival.

Through this city the Cydnus runs; a river not so remarkable for the breadth of its channel, as for the beauty of its waters, which are vastly limpid; but at the same time excessively cold, because of the tufted trees with which its banks are overshadowed. It was now about the end of the summer, which is excessively hot in Cilicia, and in the hottest part of the day; when the king, who was quite covered with sweat and dirt, arriving on its banks, had a mind to bathe, invited by the beauty and clearness of the stream. However, the instant he plunged into it, he was seized with so violent a shivering, that all the bye-standers fancied he was dying. Upon this he was carried to his tent, after fainting away. The physicians, who were sensible they should be answerable for the event, did not dare to

hazard violent and extraordinary remedies. However, Philip, one of his physicians, who had always attended upon him from his youth, and loved him with the utmost tenderness, not only as his sovereign, but his child, raising himself (merely out of affection to Alexander) above all prudential considerations, offered to give him a dose, which, though not very violent, would nevertheless be speedy in its effects; and desired three days to prepare it. At this proposal every one trembled, but he only whom it most concerned; Alexander being afflicted upon no other account, than because it would keep him three days from appearing at the head of his army.

Whilst these things were doing, Alexander received a letter from Parmenio, who was left behind in Cappadocia, in whom Alexander put greater confidence than in any other of his courtiers: the purport of which was, to bid him beware of Philip his physician, for that Darius had bribed him, by the promise of a thousand talents, and his sister in marriage. This letter gave him great uneasiness; for he was now at full leisure to weigh all the reasons he might have to hope or fear. But confidence in a physician, whose sincere attachment and fidelity he had proved from his infancy, soon prevailed, and removed all suspicions. He folded up the letter and put it under his bolster, without acquainting his attendants with the contents; in

the mean time, his physician entered, with a medicine in his hand, and offered the cup to Alexander. The hero upon this, took the cup from him, and holding out the letter, desired the physician to read, while he drank off the draught with an intrepid countenance, without the least hesitation, or discovering the least suspicion or uneasiness. The Physician, as he perused the letter, shewed greater signs of indignation than of fear ; he bid him, with a resolute tone, harbour no uneasiness, and that the recovery of his health would in a short time wipe off all suspicion. In the mean time, the physic wrought so violently, that the symptoms seemed to strengthen Parmenio's accusation ; but at last, the medicine having gained the ascendant, he began to assume his accustomed vigour ; and in about three days, he was able to shew himself to his longing soldiers, by whom he was equally beloved and respected.

In the mean time Darius was on his march ; filled with a vain security in the superiority of his numbers ; and confident not in the valour, but in the splendor of his forces. The plains of Assyria, in which he was encamped, gave him an opportunity of extending his horse as he pleased, and of taking the advantage which the great difference between the number of soldiers in each army gave him. But instead of this, he resolved to march to narrow passes, where his cavalry, and the multitude of his troops, so

far from doing him any service, could only incumber each other; and accordingly, advanced towards the enemy, for whom he should have waited; and thus ran visibly on his destruction.

His courtiers and attendants however, whose custom it was to flatter and applaud all his actions, congratulated him upon an approaching victory, as if it had been certain and inevitable. There was at that time, in the army of Darius, one Caridemus, an Athenian, a man of great experience in war, who personally hated Alexander, for having caused him to be banished from Athens. Darius turning to this Athenian, asked whether he believed him powerful enough to defeat his army. Caridemus, who had been brought up in the bosom of liberty, forgetting that he was in a country of slavery, where to oppose the inclinations of the prince is of the most dangerous consequence, replied as follows: " Permit me, Sir, to speak truth  
" now, when only my sincerity can be of  
" service; your present splendor, your prodigious numbers, which have drained the east,  
" may be terrible indeed to your effeminate  
" neighbours, but can be no way dreadful to a  
" Macedonian army. Discipline, close combat,  
" courage, is all their care; every single man  
" among them is almost himself a general.  
" These men are not to be repulsed by the  
" stones of slingers, or stakes burnt at the end;



“ none but troops armed like themselves can  
“ stop their career ; let, therefore, the gold and  
“ silver which glitters in your camp, be ex-  
“ changed for soldiers and steel, for weapons  
“ and for hearts that are able to defend you.”

Darius, though naturally of a mild disposition, had all his passions roused at the freedom of this man's advice ; he ordered him at once to be executed ; Caridemus all the time crying out, That his avenger was at hand : Darius too soon repented his rashness, and experienced when it was too late, the truth of all that had been told him.

The emperor now advanced with his troops towards the river Euphrates ; over his tent was exhibited to the view of his whole army, the image of the sun in jewels ; while wealth and magnificence shone in every quarter of the army.

First they carried silver altars, on which lay fire, called by them Sacred and Eternal ; and these were followed by the Magi, singing hymns, after the manner of their country ; they were accompanied by three hundred and sixty-five youths (equalling the number of days in a year) clothed in purple robes. Afterwards came a chariot consecrated to Jupiter, drawn by white horses, and followed by a courser of a prodigious size, to whom they gave the name of the Sun's Horse ; and the equeries were

dressed in white, each having a golden rod in his hand.

Ten chariots, adorned with sculptures in gold and silver, followed after. Then marched a body of horse, composed of twelve nations, whose manners and customs were various, and all armed in a different manner. Next advanced those whom the Persians called The Immortals, amounting to ten thousand, who surpassed the rest of the barbarians in the sumptuousness of their apparel. They all wore golden collars, were clothed in robes of gold tissue, with vestments having sleeves to them quite covered with precious stones.

Thirty paces from them followed those called the king's relations, to the number of fifteen thousand, in habits very much resembling those of women; and more remarkable for the vain pomp of their dress, than the glitter of their arms.

Those called the Doriphoroi came after; they carried the king's cloak, and walked before his chariot, in which he seemed to sit, as on a high throne. This chariot was enriched on both sides with images of the gods, in gold and silver; and from the middle of the yoke, which was covered with jewels, rose two statues, a cubit in height, the one representing War, the other Peace, having a golden eagle between them, with wings extended, as ready to take its flight,

But nothing could equal the magnificence of the king; he was clothed in a vest of purple, striped with silver, and over it a long robe, glittering all over with gold and precious stones, that represented two falcons, rushing from the clouds, and pecking at one another. Around his waist he wore a golden girdle, after the manner of women, whence his cimeter hung, the scabbard of which flamed all over with gems; on his head he wore a tiara, or mitre, round which was a fillet of blue mixed with white.

On each side of him walked two hundred of his nearest relations, followed by two thousand pikemen, whose pikes were adorned with silver, and tipped with gold; and lastly, thirty thousand infantry, who composed the rear-guard. These were followed by the king's horses, four hundred in number, all which were led.

About one hundred, or an hundred and twenty paces from thence, came Sysigambis, Darius's mother, seated on a chariot, and his consort on another; with the several female attendants of both queens, riding on horseback. Afterwards came fifteen large chariots, in which were the king's children and those who had the care of their education, with a band of eunuchs, who are to this day in great esteem among those nations. Then marched the concubines, to the number of three hundred and sixty, in the equipage of queens, followed by six hundred

mules and three hundred camels, which carried the king's treasure, and guarded by a great body of archers.

After these came the wives of the crown-officers, and of the greatest lords of the court ; then the sutlers, and servants of the army, seated also in chariots.

In the rear were a body of light-armed troops, with their commanders, who closed the whole march.

Such was the splendor of this pageant monarch ; he took the field encumbered with an unnecessary train of concubines, attended with troops of various nations, speaking different languages, for their numbers impossible to be marshalled, and so rich and effeminate in gold and in garments, as seemed rather to invite than deter an invader.

Alexander, after marching from Tarsus, arrived at Bactriana ; from thence, still earnest in coming up with his enemy, he came to Solæ, where he offered sacrifice to *Æsculapius* ; from thence he went forward to Pyramus, to Malles, and at last to Cartabala : it was here that he first received advice that Darius, with his whole army, was encamped at Sochus in Assyria, two days journey from Cilicia. He therefore resolved without delay to meet him there, as the badness of the weather obliged him to halt.

In the mean time, Darius led on his immense army into the plains of Assyria, which they



covered to a great extent; there he was advised by the Grecian commanders who were in his service, and who composed the strength of his army, to halt, as he would there have sufficient room to expand his forces, and surround the invader. Darius rejected their advice; and, instead of waiting Alexander's approach, vainly puffed up with pride by his surrounding courtiers, he resolved to pursue the invader, who wished for nothing more ardently than to come to an engagement.

Accordingly, Darius having sent his treasures to Damascus, a city of Assyria, he marched with the main body of his army towards Cilicia, then turned short towards Issus; and, quite ignorant of the situation of the enemy, supposed he was pursuing Alexander, when he had actually left him in the rear. There is a strange mixture of pride, cruelty, splendor and magnanimity, in all the actions of this Persian prince. At Issus he barbarously put to death all the Greeks who were sick in that city, a few soldiers only excepted, whom he dismissed, after having made them view every part of his camp, in order to report his numbers and strength to the invader; these soldiers accordingly brought Alexander word of the approach of Darius; and he now began to think seriously of preparing for battle.

Alexander fearing, from the numbers of the enemy, that they would attack him in his camp, fortified it with a ditch and a rampart; but at the

same time discovered great joy to see the enemy hastening to their own destruction, and preparing to attack him in a place which was but wide enough for a small army to act and move at liberty in. Thus the two armies were in some measure reduced to an equality: the Macedonians had space sufficient to employ their whole force, while the Persians had not room for the twentieth part of theirs.

Nevertheless, Alexander, as frequently happens to the greatest captains, felt some emotion when he saw that he was going to hazard all at one blow. The more fortune had favoured him hitherto, the more he now dreaded her frowns; the moment approaching which was to determine his fate. But, on the other side, his courage revived, from the reflection, that the rewards of his toils exceeded the dangers of them; and though he was uncertain with regard to the victory, he at least hoped to die gloriously, and like Alexander. However, he did not divulge these thoughts to any one; well knowing, that, upon the approach of a battle, a general ought not to discover the least marks of sadness or perplexity; and that the troops should read nothing but resolution and intrepidity in the countenance of their commander.

Having made his soldiers refresh themselves, and ordered them to be ready for the third watch of the night, which began at twelve, he went to the top of a mountain, and there, by torch-light,

sacrificed, after the manner of his country, to the gods of the place. As soon as the signal was given, his army which was ready to march and fight, being commanded to make great speed, arrived by day-break at the several posts assigned them. But now the spies bringing word that Darius was not above thirty furlongs from them, the king caused his army to halt, and then drew it up in battle array. The peasants, in the greatest terror, came also, and acquainted Darius with the arrival of the enemy ; which he would not at first believe, imagining, as we have observed, that Alexander fled before him, and was endeavouring to escape. This news threw his troops into the utmost confusion ; who, in their surprise, ran to their arms with great precipitation and disorder.

The spot where the battle was fought, lay near the city of Issus, which the mountains bounded on one side, and the sea on the other. The plain that was situated between them both must have been considerably broad, as the two armies encamped in it ; and I before observed, that Darius's army was vastly numerous. The river Pinarius ran through the middle of this plain, from the mountain to the sea, and divided it very nearly into two equal parts. The mountain formed a hollow kind of gulph, the extremity of which, in a curved line, bounded part of the plain.

Alexander drew up his army in the following

order. He posted at the extremity of the right wing which stood near the mountains, the Argyraspides, commanded by Nicanor; then the phalanx of Cœnus, and afterwards that of Perdiccas, which terminated in the centre of the main army. On the extremity of the left wing he posted the phalanx of Amyntas, then that of Ptolemy, and lastly that of Meleager. Thus the famous Macedonian phalanx was formed, which we find was composed of six distinct bodies. Each of those was headed by able generals; but Alexander being always generalissimo, had consequently the command of the whole army. The horse were placed on the two wings; the Macedonians with the Thessalians on the right, and the Peloponnesians, with the other allies, on the left. Craterus commanded all the foot, which composed the left wing, and Parmenio the whole wing. Alexander had reserved to himself the command of the right. He had desired Parmenio to keep as near the sea as possible, to prevent the barbarians from surrounding him; and Nicanor, on the contrary was ordered to keep at some distance from the mountains, to keep himself out of the reach of the arrows discharged by those who were posted on them. He covered the horse on his right wing with the light horse of Protomachus and the Pœnians, and his foot with the bowmen of Antiochus. He reserved the Agrians (commanded by Attalus) who was greatly esteemed,



and some forces that were newly arrived from Greece, to oppose those Darius had posted on the mountains.

As for Darius's army, it was drawn up in the following order. Having heard that Alexander was marching towards him in battle array, he commanded thirty thousand horse, and twenty thousand bowmen, to cross the river Pinarius, that he might have an opportunity to draw up his army in a commodious manner on the hither side. In the centre he posted the thirty thousand Greeks in his service, who doubtless were the flower and chief strength of his army, and were not at all inferior in bravery to the Macedonian phalanx, with thirty thousand barbarians on their right, and as many on their left. The field of battle not being able to contain a great number, these were all heavily armed. The rest of the infantry, distinguished by their several nations, were ranged behind the first line. It is a pity Arrian does not tell us the depth of each of those two lines ; but it must have been prodigious, if we consider the extreme narrowness of the pass, and the amazing multitude of the Persian forces. On the mountain which lay to their left, against Alexander's right wing, Darius posted twenty thousand men, who were so ranged (in the several windings of the mountains) that some were behind Alexander's army, and others before it.

Darius after having put his army in battle

array, made his horse cross the river again, and dispatched the greatest part of them towards the sea against Parmenio, because they could fight on that spot with the greatest advantage. The rest of his cavalry he sent to the left, towards the mountain. However, finding that these would be of no service on that side, because of the too great narrowness of the spot, he caused a great part of them to wheel about to the right. As for himself, he took his post in the centre of his army, pursuant to the custom of the Persian monarchs.

The two armies being thus drawn up in order of battle Alexander marched very slowly, that his soldiers might take a little breath: so that it was supposed they would not engage till very late. For Darius still continued with his army on the other side of the river, in order not to lose the advantageous situation which he had gained; and he even caused such parts of the shore as were not craggy, to be secured with palisadoes, whence the Macedonians concluded that he was already afraid of being defeated. The two armies being come in sight, Alexander riding along the ranks, called by their several names, the principal officers both of the Macedonians and foreigners, and exhorted the soldiers to signalize themselves, speaking to each nation according to its peculiar genius and disposition. The whole army set up a shout, and eagerly desired to be led on directly against the enemy.

Alexander had advanced at first very slowly, to prevent the ranks on the front of the phalanx from breaking, and halted by intervals. But when he was got within bow-shot, he commanded all his right wing to plunge impetuously into the river, purposely that he might surprize the barbarians, come sooner to a close engagement, and be less exposed to the enemy's arrows; in all which he was very successful. Both sides fought with the utmost bravery and resolution; and being now forced to fight close, they charged both sides sword in hand, when a dreadful slaughter ensued; for they engaged man to man, each aiming the point of his sword at the face of his opponent. Alexander, who performed the duty both of a private soldier and of a commander, wished nothing so ardently as the glory of killing with his own hand Darius, who being seated on a high chariot was conspicuous to the whole army; and by that means was a powerful object both to encourage his own soldiers to defend, and the enemy to attack him. And now the battle grew more furious and bloody than before, so that a great number of Persian noblemen were killed. Each side fought with incredible bravery. Oxathres, brother to Darius, observing that Alexander was going to charge that monarch with the utmost vigour, rushed before his chariot with the horse under his command, and distinguished himself above the rest. The horses that drew Darius's chariot

lost all command, and shook the yoke so violently, that they were upon the point of overturning the king; who, seeing himself going to fall alive into the hands of his enemies, leaped down, and mounted another chariot. The rest observing this, fled as fast as possible, and throwing down their arms, made the best of their way. Alexander had received a slight wound in his thigh, but happily it was not attended with ill consequences. Whilst part of the Macedonian cavalry (posted to the right) were improving the advantages they had gained against the Persians, the remainder of them, who engaged the Greeks, met with greater resistance. These observing that the body of infantry in question were no longer covered by the right wing of Alexander's army, which was pursuing the enemy, came and attacked it in flank. The engagement was very bloody, and victory a long time doubtful. The Greeks endeavoured to push the Macedonians into the river, and to recover the disorder into which the left wing had been thrown. The Macedonians also signalised themselves by the utmost bravery, in order to preserve the advantage which Alexander had just before gained, and support the honour of their phalanx, which had always been considered as invincible. There was also a perpetual jealousy between the Greeks and Macedonians, which greatly increased their courage, and made the resistance on each side very



vigorous. On Alexander's side Ptolemy, the son of Seleucus, lost his life, with an hundred and twenty more considerable officers, who had all behaved with the utmost gallantry.

In the mean time the right wing, which was victorious under its monarch, after defeating all who opposed it, wheeled to the left against those Greeks who were fighting with the rest of the Macedonian phalanx, whom they charged very vigorously ; and, attacking them in flank, entirely routed them.

At the very beginning of the engagement the Persian cavalry, which was in the right wing (without waiting for their being attacked by the Macedonians) had crossed the river, and rushed upon the Thessalian horse, several of whose squadrons they broke. Upon this the remainder of the latter, in order to avoid the impetuosity of the first charge, and oblige the Persians to break their ranks, made a feint of retiring, as terrified by the prodigious number of the enemy. The Persians seeing this, were filled with boldness and confidence ; and there-upon, the greatest part of them advancing, without order or precaution, as to a certain victory, had no thoughts but of pursuing the enemy. Upon this the Thessalians seeing them in such confusion, faced about on a sudden, and renewed the fight with fresh ardour. The Persians made a brave defence, till they saw Darius put to flight, and the Greeks cut to

pieces by the phalanx, when they fled in the utmost disorder.

With regard to Darius, the instant he saw his left wing broke, he was one of the first who fled in his chariot; but getting afterwards into craggy, rugged places, he mounted on horse-back, throwing down his bow, shield, and royal mantle. Alexander, however, did not attempt to pursue him, till he saw his phalanx had conquered the Greeks, and that the Persian horse were put to flight; which were of great advantage to the prince that fled.

Sysigambis, Darius's mother, and that monarch's queen (who was also his sister) were found remaining in the camp, with two of the king's daughters, his son, (yet a child) and some Persian ladies; for the rest had been carried to Damascus, with part of Darius's treasure, and all such things as contributed only to the luxury and magnificence of his court. No more than three thousand talents were found in his camp; but the rest of the treasure fell afterwards into the hands of Parmenio, at the taking of the city of Damascus.

As for the barbarians, having exerted themselves with bravery enough in the first attack, they afterwards gave way in the most shameful manner; and being intent upon nothing but saving themselves, they took different ways to effect their safety. Some struck into the high-road which led directly to Persia: others ran

into woods and lonely mountains ; and a small number returned to their camp, which the victorious enemy had already taken and plundered. In this battle threescore thousand of the Persian infantry, and ten thousand horsemen were slain ; forty thousand were taken prisoners ; while of Alexander's army there fell but two hundred and fourscore in all.

The evening after the engagement Alexander invited his chief officers to a feast, at which himself presided, notwithstanding he had been wounded that day in battle. The festivity, however, had scarce begun, when they were interrupted by sad lamentations from a neighbouring tent, which at first they considered as a fresh alarm ; but they were soon taught that it came from the tent in which the wife and mother of Darius were kept, who were expressing their sorrow for the supposed death of Darius. An eunuch, who had seen his cloak in the hands of a soldier, imagining he was killed, brought them these dreadful tidings. Alexander, however, sent Leonatus, one of his officers, to undeceive them, and to inform them that the emperor was still alive. The women, little used to the appearance of strangers, upon the arrival of the Macedonian soldier, imagining he was sent to put them to death, threw themselves at his feet, and entreated him to spare them a little while. They were ready, they said, to die ; and only desired to bury Darius before they should

suffer. The soldier assured them, that he came rather to comfort than afflict them ; that the monarch whom they deplored was still living ; and he gave Sysigambis his hand to raise her from the ground.

The next day, Alexander, after visiting the wounded, caused the last honours to be paid to the dead, in the presence of the whole army, drawn up in the most splendid order of battle. He treated the Persians of distinction in the same manner, and permitted Darius's mother to bury whatever persons she pleased, according to the customs and ceremonies practised in her country. After this, he sent a message to the queens, informing them that he was coming to pay them a visit ; and accordingly, commanding all his train to withdraw, he entered the tent, accompanied only by Hephæstion, who made so cautious and discreet a use of the liberty granted him, that he seemed to take it not so much out of inclination, as from a desire to obey the king, who would have it so. They were both of the same age, but Hephæstion was taller, so that the queens took him first for the king, and paid him their respects as such. But some captive eunuchs pointing out Alexander, Sysigambis fell prostrate before him, and intreated pardon for her mistake ; but the king raising her from the ground, assured her, that his friend also was an Alexander ; and after comforting her and her attendants, and assuring her



that no part of the state she had formerly enjoyed should be withheld, he took the son of Darius, that was yet but a child, in his arms. The infant, without discovering the least terror, stretched out his arms to the conqueror, who being affected with its confidence, said to Hephæstion—Oh! that Darius had some share, some portion of this infant's generosity. That he might prevent every suspicion of design on the chastity of the consort of Darius; and, at the same time, remove every cause of fear or anxiety from her mind, he resolved never to visit her tent more, although she was one of the most engaging women of her time. This moderation, so very becoming in a royal conqueror, gave occasion to that noted observation of Plutarch, "That the princesses of Persia lived in an enemy's camp, as if they had been in some sacred temple, unseen, unapproached, and unmolested." Sysigambis was distinguished by extraordinary marks of Alexander's favour: Darius himself could not have treated her with more respect than did that generous prince. He allowed her to regulate the funerals of all the Persians of the royal family, who had fallen in battle; and through her intercession he pardoned several of Darius's nobles, who had justly incurred his displeasure. This magnanimous conduct has done more honour to Alexander's character than all his splendid conquests: the gentleness of his manners to the suppliant captives, his chastity

and continence, when he had the power to enforce obedience, were setting an example to heroes, which it has been the pride of many since to imitate.

After this overthrow, all Phœnicia, the capital city, Tyre only excepted, was yielded to the conqueror, and Parmenio was made governor. Good fortune followed him so fast, that it rewarded him beyond his expectations. Antigonus, his general in Asia, overthrew the Cappadocians, Paphlagonians, and others lately revolted. Aristodemus, the Persian admiral, was overcome at sea, and a great part of his fleet taken. The city of Damascus also, in which the treasures of Darius were deposited, was given up to Alexander. The governor of this place, forgetting the duty he owed his sovereign, informed Alexander by letter, upon a certain day, that he would lead out his soldiers laden with spoil from the city, as if willing to secure a retreat; and these with all their wealth might be taken, with a proper body of troops to intercept them. Alexander punctually followed the governor's instruction, and thus became possessed of an immense plunder. Besides money and plate which was afterwards coined, and amounted to immense sums, thirty thousand men, and seven thousand beasts laden with baggage, were taken. We find by Parmenio's letter to Alexander, that he found in Damascus three hundred and twenty-nine of Darius's concu-

bines, all admirably well skilled in music, and also a multitude of officers, whose business it was to regulate and prepare every thing relating to that monarch's entertainment.

In the mean time, Darius having travelled on horseback the whole night, struck with terror and consternation, arrived in the morning at Sochus, where he assembled the remains of his army : still, however, his pride did not forsake him with his fortune ; he wrote a letter to Alexander, in which he rather treated him as an inferior: he commanded, rather than requested, that Alexander would take a ransom for his mother, wife, and children. With regard to the empire, he would fight with him for it upon equal terms, and bring an equal number of troops into the field. To this Alexander replied, " That he disdained all correspondence with a man whom he had already overcome ; that in case he appeared before him in a supplicating posture, he would give up his wife and mother without ransom ; that he knew how to conquer, and to oblige the conquered."

Thus coming to no issue, the king marched from thence into Phœnicia, the citizens of Byblos opening their gates to him. Every one submitted as he advanced, but no people did this with greater pleasure than the Sidonians. We have seen in what manner Ochus had destroyed their city eighteen years before, and put all the inhabitants of it to the sword. After

he was returned into Persia, such of the citizens as, upon account of their traffic, or for some other cause, had been absent, and by that means had escaped the massacre, returned thither, and rebuilt their city. But they had retained so violent a hatred to the Persians, that they were overjoyed at this opportunity of throwing off their yoke; and, indeed, they were the first in that country who submitted to the king by their deputies, in opposition to Strato, their king, who had declared in favour of Darius. Alexander dethroned him, and permitted Hephæstion to elect in his stead whomsoever of the Sidonians he should judge worthy of so exalted a station.

This favourite was quartered at the house of two brothers, who were young, and of the most considerable family in the city: to these he offered the crown. But they refused it; telling him, that according to the laws of their country, no person could ascend the throne unless he were of the blood royal. Hephæstion admiring this greatness of soul, which could contemn what others strive to obtain by fire and sword, —“ Continue,” says he to them, “ in this way of thinking, you who seem sensible that it is much more glorious to refuse a diadem than to accept it. However, name me some person of the royal family, who may remember, when he is king, that it was you that set the crown on his head.” The brothers observing, that



several, through excessive ambition, aspired to this high station, and to obtain it, paid a servile court to Alexander's favourites, declared, that they did not know any person more worthy of the diadem than one Abdolonymus, descended, though at a great distance, from the royal family ; but who, at the same time was so poor, that he was obliged to get his bread by day labour in a garden without the city. His honesty and integrity had reduced him, as well as many more, to such extreme poverty. Solely intent upon his labour, he did not hear the clashing of the arms which had shaken all Asia.

Immediately the two brothers went in search of Abdolonymus, with the royal garments, and found him weeding in his garden. When they saluted him king, Abdolonymus looked upon the whole as a dream ; and, unable to guess the meaning of it, asked if they were not ashamed to ridicule him in that manner? But as he made a greater resistance than suited their inclinations, they themselves washed him, and threw over his shoulders a purple robe, richly embroidered with gold ; then, after repeated oaths of their being in earnest, they conducted him to the palace.

The news of this was immediately spread over the whole city. Most of the inhabitants were overjoyed at it, but some murmured, especially the rich ; who, despising Abdolonymus's former abject state, could not forbear

shewing their resentment upon that account, in the king's court. Alexander commanded the new elected prince to be sent for, and after surveying him attentively a long time, he spoke thus: "Thy air and mien do not contradict what is related of thy extraction; but I should be glad to know with what frame of mind thou didst bear thy poverty?"—"Would to the gods," replied he, "that I may bear this crown with equal patience. These hands have procured me all I desired; and whilst I possessed nothing, I wanted nothing." This answer gave Alexander an high idea of Abdolonymus's virtue; so that he presented him not only with the rich furniture which had belonged to Strato, and part of the Persian plunder, but likewise annexed one of the neighbouring provinces to his dominions.

Syria and Phœnicia were already subdued by the Macedonians, the city of Tyre excepted. This city was justly called the Queen of the Sea, that element bringing to it the tribute of all nations. She boasted her having first invented navigation, and taught mankind the art of braving the winds and waves by the assistance of a frail bark. The happy situation of Tyre, the conveniency and extent of its ports, the character of its inhabitants, who were industrious, laborious, patient and extremely courteous to strangers; invited thither merchants from all parts of the globe, so that it

might be considered not so much a city belonging to any particular nation, as the common city of all nations, and the centre of their commerce.

Alexander thought it necessary, both for his pride and his interest to take this city. The spring was now coming on. Tyre was at that time seated in an island of the sea, about a quarter of a league from the continent. It was surrounded with a strong wall, an hundred and fifty feet high, which the waves of the sea washed, and the Carthaginians (a colony from Tyre,) a mighty people, and sovereigns of the ocean, whose ambassadors were at that time in the city, offering to Hercules, according to ancient custom, an annual sacrifice, had engaged themselves to succour the Tyrians. It was this made them so haughty : firmly determined not to surrender, they fix machines on the ramparts and on the towers, arm their young men, and build workhouses for the artificers, of whom there were great numbers in the city, so that every part resounded with the noise of warlike preparations. They likewise cast iron grapples to throw on the enemy's works, and tear them away ; as also cramp irons, and such like instruments, formed for the defence of cities. So many difficulties opposing such a hazardous design, and so many reasons, should have made Alexander decline the siege.

It was impossible to come near this city in

order to storm it, without making a bank, which would reach from the continent to the island ; and an attempt of this kind would be attended with difficulties that were seemingly insurmountable. The little arm of the sea, which separated the island from the continent, was exposed to the west wind, which often raised such dreadful storms there, that the waves would in an instant sweep away all works. Besides, as the city was surrounded on all sides by the sea, there was no fixing scaling-ladders, nor throwing up batteries, but at a distance in the ships; and the wall, which projected into the sea towards the lower part, prevented people from landing; not to mention that the military engines which might have been put on board the gallies, could not do much execution, the waves were so very tumultuous.

These obstacles, however, by no means retarded the enterprising resolutions of Alexander, but willing to gain a place rather by treaty than by the sword, he sent heralds into the place, proposing a peace between the Tyrians and him. The citizens, however, a tumultuous ungovernable body, instead of listening to his proposals, instead of endeavouring to avert his resentment, contrary to the law of nations, killed his heralds, and threw them from the top of the walls into the sea. This outrage inflamed Alexander's passions to the highest degree ; he resolved upon the city's destruction, and sat



down before it, filled with persevering resentment. His first endeavour was to form a pier jutting from the continent, and reaching to the city, which was built upon an island. From the foundations of an ancient city upon the shore, he dug stones and rubbish; from mount Lebanon, that hung over the city, he cut down cedars that served for piles; and thus he began his work without interruption. But the farther they went from shore, the greater difficulties they met with, because the sea was deeper, and the workmen were much annoyed by the darts discharged from the top of the walls. The enemy also, who were masters at sea, coming in great boats, prevented the Macedonians from carrying on their work with vigour. At last, however, the pile appeared above water, a level of considerable breadth: then the besieged at last perceived their rashness; they saw, with terror, the vastness of the work which the sea had till then kept from their sight, and now began to attack the workmen with javelins, and wound them at a distance. It was therefore resolved that skins and sails should be spread to cover the workmen, and that two wooden towers should be raised at the head of the bank, to prevent the approaches of the enemy. Yet these were burned soon after, through means of a fire-ship sent in by the besieged, together with all the wood-work composing the pile that could be touched by the fire.

Alexander, though he saw most of his designs defeated, and his works demolished, was not at all dejected upon that account. His soldiers endeavoured, with redoubled vigour, to repair the ruins of the bank; and made and planted new machines with such prodigious speed, as quite astonished the enemy. Alexander himself was present on all occasions, and superintended every part of the works. His presence and great abilities advanced them still more than the multitude of hands employed in them. The whole was near finished, and brought almost to the wall of the city, when there arose on a sudden an impetuous wind, which drove the waves with so much fury against the mole, that the cement and other things that barred it, gave way, and the water rushing through the stones, broke it in the middle. As soon as the great heap of stones which supported the earth was thrown down, the whole sunk at once, as into an abyss.

Any warrior but Alexander would that instant have quite laid aside his enterprize; and, indeed, he himself debated whether he should not raise the siege. But a superior Power, who had foretold and sworn the ruin of Tyre, and whose orders this prince only executed, prompted him to continue the siege; and, dispelling all his fear and anxiety, inspired him with courage and confidence, and fired the breasts of his whole army with the same senti-

ments. Neither Alexander, however, nor his troops, knew from whence that animating Power came. Agreeably to the superstitious notions of their times, they imputed the perseverance and strength with which they had been armed, to the kind interposition of the gods of their country. Alexander, though a king, a conqueror, a scholar, and a man of the world, had not been able to overcome the absurdities which he had imbibed with his religion: in him, however, they were not very palpable. But knowing, from experience, what a fortunate resource he had in the dominion which the augurs had usurped over the minds of his people, he always endeavoured to secure an implicit obedience to their dictates. On this occasion, therefore, he added artifice to his own feelings, in order to encourage his soldiers. At one time he gave out, that Apollo was about to abandon the Tyrians to their doom; and that, to prevent his flight, they had bound him to his pedestal with a golden chain: at another, that Hercules, the tutelar deity at Macedon, had appeared to him, and having opened prospects of the most flattering success, had invited him to proceed to take possession of Tyre. These favourable circumstances were announced by the augurs as intimations from above; and every heart was of consequence cheered. The soldiers, as if but that moment arrived before the city, now forgetting all the toils they had undergone,

began to raise a new mole, at which they worked incessantly.

In the mean time, Alexander being convinced that while the enemy remained masters at sea, the city could not be taken, with great diligence procured a fleet from various parts, and embarking himself, with some soldiers from among his guard, he set sail towards the Tyrian fleet, forming a line of battle. The Tyrians were at first determined to oppose him openly; but perceiving the superiority of his forces, they kept all the gallies in their harbour, to prevent the enemy from entering there. Alexander, therefore, was contended to draw up his ships near the bank, along the shore, where they rode in safety, and kept the enemy from annoying his workmen, who were employed upon the bank.

The besiegers, thus protected, went on with great vigour. The workmen threw into the sea whole trees, with all their branches on them; and laid great stones over these, on which they put other trees, and the latter they covered with clay, which served instead of mortar: afterwards, heaping more trees and stones on these, the whole, thus joined together, formed one entire body. This bank was made wider than the former one, in order that the towers that were built in the middle might be out of the reach of such arrows as should be shot from those ships which might attempt to break down



the edges of the bank. Thus, after many delays, the patience of the workmen surmounting every obstacle, it was at last finished in the utmost perfection. The Macedonians placed military engines of all kinds on the bank, in order to shake the walls with battering-rams, and hurl on the besieged arrows, stones, and burning torches. Thus, by degrees, approaching to the foot of the wall, the Tyrians were attacked in close combat, and invested on all sides, both by sea and land.

A general attack was now, therefore, thought necessary ; and the king manning his gallies, which he had joined to each other, ordered them to approach the walls about midnight, and attack the city with resolution. The Tyrians now gave themselves over for lost ; when on a sudden the sky was overspread with such thick clouds, as quite took away the faint glimmerings of light which before darted through the gloom ; the sea rose by insensible degrees, and the billows being swelled by the fury of the winds, increased to a dreadful storm ; the vessels dashed one against the other with so much violence, that the cables, which before fastened them together, were either loosened or broke to pieces ; the planks split, and making a horrible crash, carried off the soldiers with them ; for the tempest was so furious, that it was not possible to manage or steer the gallies thus fastened together. At last, however, they

brought them near the shore, but the greatest part were in a shattered condition.

This good fortune of the Tyrians was counter-balanced by an unexpected calamity; they had long expected succours from Carthage, a flourishing colony of their own, but they now received advice from thence, that the Carthaginians were absolutely unable to give them any assistance, being overawed themselves by a powerful army of Syracusans, who were laying waste their country. The Tyrians, therefore, frustrated in their hopes, still maintained their resolution of defending themselves to the last extremity; and accordingly sent off their women and children to Carthage, as being of no use in the defence of their city.

And now the engines playing, the city was warmly attacked on all sides, and as vigorously defended. The besieged, taught and animated by imminent danger, and the extreme necessity to which they were reduced, invented daily new arts, to defend themselves and repulse the enemy. They warded off all the darts discharged from the balistas against them, by the assistance of turning wheels, which either broke them to pieces, or carried them another way. They deadened the violence of the stones that were hurled at them, by setting up sails and curtains, made of a soft substance, which easily gave way. To annoy the ships which advanced against their walls, they fixed grappling-irons,

and scythes to joists or beams ; then straining their catapultas (an enormous kind of cross-bow), they laid those great pieces of timber upon them, instead of arrows, and shot them off on a sudden at the enemy ; these crushed some to pieces by their great weight ; and the hooks, or pensile scythes, with which they were armed, tore others to pieces, and did considerable damage to their ships. They also had brazen shields, which they drew red-hot out of the fire ; and, filling these with burning sand, hurled them in an instant from the top of the wall upon the enemy. There was nothing the Macedonians so much dreaded as this last invention ; for, the moment this burning sand got to the flesh, through the crevices in the armour, it pierced to the very bone, and stuck so close, that there was no pulling it off ; so that the soldiers, throwing down their arms, and tearing their clothes to pieces, were in this manner exposed, naked and defenceless, to the shot of the enemy. It was now thought that Alexander, quite discouraged with his loss, was determined to relinquish the siege ; but he resolved to make the last effort, with a great number of ships, which he manned with the flower of his army. Accordingly a second naval engagement was fought, in which the Tyrians, after fighting with intrepidity, were obliged to draw off their whole fleet towards the city. The king pursued their rear very close, but was not able to enter the harbour, being

repulsed by arrows shot from the walls. However, he either took or sunk a great number of their ships.

Both the attack and defence were now more vigorous than ever. The courage of the combatants increased with the danger; and each side, animated by the most powerful motives, fought like lions. Wherever the battering-rams had beat down any part of the wall, and the bridges were thrown out, instantly the Argyraspides mounted the breach with the utmost valour, being headed by Admetus, one of the bravest officers in the army, who was killed by the thrust of a spear as he was encouraging his soldiers. The presence of the king, and especially the example he set, fired his troops with unusual bravery. He himself ascended one of the towers, which was of a prodigious height, and there was exposed to the greatest dangers his courage had ever made him hazard; for being immediately known, by his insignia and the richness of his armour, he served as a mark for all the arrows of the enemy. On this occasion he performed wonders; killing with javelins several of those who defended the wall; then advancing nearer to them, he forced some with his sword, and others with his shield, either into the city or the sea; the tower on which he fought almost touching the wall. He soon ascended the wall, by the assistance of floating-bridges; and, followed by the principal officers,



possessed himself of two towers, and the space between them. The battering-rams had already made several breaches; the fleet had forced into the harbour; and some of the Macedonians had possessed themselves of the towers which were abandoned. The Tyrians, seeing the enemy master of their rampart, retired towards an open place, called Agenor, and there stood their ground; but Alexander marching up with his regiment of body-guards, killed part of them, and obliged the rest to fly. At the same time, Tyre being taken on that side which lay towards the harbour, the Macedonians ran up and down every part of the city, sparing no person who came in their way, being highly exasperated at the long resistance of the besieged, and the barbarities they had exercised towards some of their comrades, who had been taken in their return to Sidon, and thrown from the battlements, after their throats had been cut, in the sight of the whole army. The Tyrians, thus reduced to the last extremity, shut themselves up in their houses, to avoid the sword of the conqueror; others rushed into the midst of the enemy, to sell their lives as dearly as they could; and some threw stones from the tops of the houses to crush the sailors below: the old men waited at their doors, expecting every instant to be sacrificed, from the rage of the soldiers. In this general carnage, the Sidonian soldiers alone, that were in Alexander's army,

seemed touched with pity for the fate of the wretched inhabitants: they gave protection to many of the Tyrians, whom they considered as countrymen, and carried great numbers of them privately on board their ships. The numbers that were thus slaughtered by the enraged soldiers were incredible; even after conquest the victor's resentment did not subside; he ordered no less than two thousand men, that were taken in the storm, to be nailed to crosses along the shore. The number of prisoners amounted to thirty thousand, and were all sold as slaves in different parts of the world. Thus fell Tyre, that had been for many ages the most flourishing city in the world, and had spread the arts of commerce into the remotest regions.

Whilst Alexander was carrying on the siege of Tyre, he received a second letter from Darius, in which that monarch seemed more sensible of his power than before: he now gave him the title of king, and offered him ten thousand talents as a ransom for his captive mother and wife; he offered him his daughter Statira in marriage, with all the country he had conquered, as far as the river Euphrates: he hinted to him the inconstancy of fortune, and described at large the powers he was still possessed of to oppose. These terms were so considerable, that when the king debated upon them in council, Parmenio, one of his generals, could not help observing, That if he were Alexander, he would

agree to such a proposal ; to which Alexander nobly replied, " And so would I, were I Parmenio : " He therefore treated the proposals of Darius with haughty contempt, and refused to accept of treasures which he already considered as his own.

From Tyre Alexander marched to Jerusalem, fully resolved to punish that city, for having refused to supply his army with provisions during the late siege ; but the resentment of the conqueror was averted, by meeting a procession of the inhabitants of that city on his way, marching out to receive him, dressed in white, with *Jaddus*, a Jewish high-priest before them, with a mitre on his head, on the front of which the name of God was written. The moment the king perceived the high-priest, he advanced towards him with an air of the most profound respect, bowed his body, adored the august name upon his front, and saluted him who wore it with religious veneration. Then the Jews surrounding Alexander, raised their voices to wish him every kind of prosperity : All the spectators were seized with inexpressible surprize ; they could scarce believe their eyes ; and did not know how to account for a sight so contrary to their expectation, and so vastly improbable.

Parmenio, who could not yet recover from his astonishment, asked the king how it came to pass, that he who was adored by every one, adored the high-priest of the Jews : " I do not," replied

Alexander, “adore the high-priest, but the God  
“whose minister he is; for whilst I was at Dium  
“in Macedonia, my mind wholly fixed on the  
“great design of the Persian war, as I was re-  
“volving the methods how to conquer Asia,  
“this very man, dressed in the same robes, ap-  
“peared to me in a dream, exhorted me to  
“banish my fear, bade me cross the Hellespont  
“boldly, and assured me that God would march  
“at the head of my army, and give me the  
“victory over that of the Persians.” This  
speech, delivered with an air of sincerity, no  
doubt had its effect in encouraging the army,  
and establishing an opinion that Alexander’s  
mission was from heaven.—Alexander having  
embraced the high-priest, was conducted by him  
to the temple, where, after he had explained to  
him many prophecies in different parts of the  
Old Testament, concerning his invasion, he  
taught him to offer up a sacrifice in the Jewish  
manner.

Alexander was so much pleased with his re-  
ception upon this occasion, that before he left  
Jerusalem, he assembled the Jews, and bade  
them ask any favour they should think proper.  
Their request was, To be allowed to live accord-  
ing to their ancient laws and maxims; to be ex-  
empted from tribute every seventh year, as they  
were by their laws exempted from labour, and  
could consequently have no harvests: they re-  
quested that such of their brethren as were



settled in Asia, should be indulged in the same privileges. Thus, being gratified in all their desires, great numbers of them offered to enlist themselves in his army. Soon after, the Samaritans demanded the same favours; but he gave them an evasive answer, and promised to take the matter into consideration upon his return.

From this city he went on to Gaza, where he found a more obstinate resistance than he had expected; but at length taking the town by storm, and having cut the garrison, consisting of ten thousand men, to pieces, with brutal ferocity, he ordered Boëtis, the governor, to be brought before him; and having in vain endeavoured to intimidate him, commanded, at last, that holes should be bored through his heels, and thus to be tied by cords to the back of his chariot, and in this manner to be dragged round the walls of the city. This he did in imitation of Achilles, whom Homer describes as having dragged Hector round the walls of Troy in the same manner: but it was reading the poet to very little advantage, to imitate his hero in the most unworthy part of his character.

As soon as Alexander had ended the siege of Gaza, he left a garrison there, and turned the whole power of his arms towards Egypt. In seven days march he arrived before Pelusium, whither a great number of Egyptians had assembled, with all imaginable diligence, to own him for their sovereign, being heartily displeased

with the Persian government, as likewise the Persian governors; as the one destroyed their liberty, the other ridiculed their religion. Masæus, the Persian governor, who commanded in Memphis, finding it would be to no purpose for him to resist so triumphant an army, and that Darius, his sovereign, was not in a condition to succour him, threw open the gates of the city to the conqueror, and gave up eight hundred talents (about one hundred and forty thousand pounds), and all the king's furniture. Thus Alexander possessed himself of all Egypt, without meeting with the least opposition.

He now, therefore, formed a design of visiting the temple of Jupiter. This temple was situated at a distance of twelve days' journey from Memphis, in the midst of the sandy deserts of Lybia. Alexander having read in Homer, and other fabulous authors of antiquity, that most of the heroes were represented as the son of some deity, was willing himself to pass for a hero, and knew that he could bribe the priests to compliment him as of celestial origin. Setting out therefore, along the river Memphis, after having passed Canopus, opposite the island of Pharos, he there laid the foundation of the city of Alexandria, which in a little time became one of the most flourishing towns for commerce in the world. From thence he had a journey of three hundred and forty miles to the temple of Jupiter; the way leading through inhospitable

deserts, and plains of sand. The soldiers were patient enough for the two first days march, before they arrived amidst the dreadful solitudes ; but as soon as they found themselves in vast plains, covered with sands of a prodigious depth, they were greatly terrified. Surrounded as with a sea, they gazed round as far as their sight could extend, to discover, if possible, some place that was inhabited ; but all in vain, for they could not perceive so much as a single tree, nor the least appearance of any land that had been cultivated. To increase their calamity, the water that they had brought in goat-skins, upon camels, now failed, and there was not so much as a single drop in all that sandy desert. They were, however, greatly refreshed by the accidental falling of a shower, which served to encourage them in their progress, till they came to the temple of the Deity. Nothing can be more fanciful than the description the historians have given us of this gloomy retreat : it is represented as a small spot of fertile ground, in the midst of vast solitudes of sand ; it is covered with the thickest trees, which exclude the rays of the sun, and watered with several springs, which preserve it in perpetual verdure. Near the grove where the temple stood, was the fountain of the Sun, which at day-break was luke-warm, at noon cold ; then towards evening it insensibly grew warmer, and was boiling hot at midnight. The god worshipped in this place,

had his statue made of emeralds, and other precious stones, and from the head to the navel resembled a ram. No sooner had Alexander appeared before the altar, than the high-priest, who was no stranger to Alexander's wishes, declared him to be the son of Jupiter; the conqueror, quite intoxicated with adulation, asked, Whether he should have success in his expedition; the priest answered, That he should be monarch of the world: the conqueror enquired, If his fathers murderers were punished; the priest replied, that his father Jupiter was immortal, but that the murderers of Philip had been all extirpated.

Alexander having ended his sacrifice, and rewarded the priests, who had been so liberal of their titles, from that time supposed himself, or would have it supposed, that he was the son of Jupiter. Upon his return from the temple, and during his stay in Egypt, he settled the government of that country upon the most solid foundation: he divided it into districts, over each of which he appointed a lieutenant, who received orders from himself alone. And thus having settled affairs there, he set out, in the beginning of spring, to march against Darius, who was now preparing to oppose him. He made some stay at Tyre, to settle the various affairs of the countries he had left behind, and then advanced to make new conquests. On his march Statira, the wife of Darius, died in child-bed,



and was honoured with a funeral ceremony, due to her exalted character and station. The news of that melancholy event was brought to Darius by Tircus, one of Statira's eunuchs, who had effected his escape from the Macedonian camp. When the king recollected the captivating charms, the engaging manners, and gentle virtues of his unfortunate queen; and above all, when he considered that she had died in captivity with hardly a friend to soothe her miseries, or to close her dying eyes, and that she must be interred without those honours which ought to grace the funeral rites of the consort of the Persian monarch, his mind was overwhelmed with the deepest sorrow. He had begun to give a loose to his feelings, when Tircus said, "Lament not for these things, O king! for neither did Statira, while she yet lived, nor do any of the royal family who are yet captives, experience any diminution of their former splendor, or any species of suffering, except that thy countenance shineth not upon them; with which, however, the great Oromasdes will again bless them. Far from being deprived of her due obsequies, Statira was buried with pomp, and honoured with the tears of her enemies: for, terrible as Alexander is in battle, he knows how to exercise humanity towards the vanquished." The eunuch's words filled the mind of Darius with the most painful apprehensions. Taking him aside, he demanded of the eunuch, in a familiar and

friendly tone of voice, "to tell him, as he revered the light of Mithra, and the right hand of his king, whether the death of Statira was not the least misfortune he had to lament; and whether the disgrace of his family and empire would not have been less, had she fallen into the hand of a more barbarous foe? For what," added he, "but the tenderest of all connections, could induce a youthful and triumphant prince so to honour the wife of his greatest enemy!" Tircus, falling upon the ground, beseeched the king not to entertain a notion, equally unworthy of himself, and injurious to the character of Statira and Alexander. Statira's own virtue, he said, was to her a wall of defence. But Darius had another source of consolation: and that was the magnanimity of Alexander; which, he protested, appeared more conspicuous in conquering his passions, than in conquering his enemies. Darius, touched with gratitude and joy, is said to have lift up his eyes to heaven, and to have spoken thus: "Ye gods, the guardians of our births, and who decree the fate of nations, grant that I may be enabled to leave the Persian state rich and flourishing as I found it, that I may have it in my power to make Alexander a proper return for his generosity to the dearest pledges of my affection. But if the duration of this empire is near at an end, and the greatness of Persia about to be forgotten, may none but Alexander be permitted to sit on

the throne of Cyrus." Such sentiments in a despotic prince, must give a very favourable idea of the liberality of his mind. Alexander continued his journey towards the Tygris, where he at last expected to come up with the enemy, and to strike one blow, which should decide the fate of nations.

Darius had already made overtures of peace to him twice ; but finding at last that there were no hopes of their concluding one, unless he resigned the whole empire to him, prepared himself again for battle. For this purpose, he assembled in Babylon an army half as numerous again as that at Issus, and marched it towards Nineveh. His forces covered all the plains of Mesopotamia. Advice being brought that the enemy was not far off, he caused Satropates, colonel of the cavalry, to advance at the head of a thousand chosen horse ; and likewise gave six thousand to Mazæus, governor of the province ; all of whom were to prevent Alexander from crossing the river, and to lay waste the country through which that monarch was to pass. But he arrived too late.

The Tygris is the most rapid river in the east ; and it was with some difficulty that Alexander's soldiers were able to stem the current, carrying their arms over their heads. The king walked on foot among the infantry, and pointed out with his hand the passage to his soldiers : he commanded them with a loud voice, To save

nothing but their arms, and to let their baggage that retarded them in the water, float away with the stream. At length they were drawn up in battle array on the opposite shore, and encamped two days near the river, still prepared for action. An eclipse of the moon, which happened about that time, gave Alexander's soldiers great uneasiness; but he brought forward some Egyptian soothsayers, who assured the army, that the moon portended calamities not to the Greeks, but the Persians. By this artifice the hopes and the courage of the soldiers being revived once more, the king led them on to meet the enemy, and began his march at midnight. On his right hand lay the Tygris, and on his left the Gordylean mountains. At break of day, news was brought that Darius was but twenty miles from the place in which they then were. All things now, therefore, threatened an approaching battle; when Darius, who had already twice sued for peace, sent new conditions, still more advantageous than the former. But Alexander refused his offers; proudly replying, That the world would not admit of two suns, nor of two sovereigns. Thus all negotiation being at an end, both sides prepared for battle, equally irritated, and equally ambitious. Darius pitched his camp near a village called Gangamela, and the river Bumila, in a plain at a considerable distance from Arbela. He had before levelled the spot which he pitched upon for the field of battle, in



order that his chariots and cavalry might have full room to move; knowing that his fighting in the straights of Cilicia had lost him the battle fought there.

Alexander, upon hearing this news, continued four days in the place he then was, to rest his army, and surrounded his camp with trenches and pallisadoes; for he was determined to leave all his baggage, and the useless soldiers in it, and march the remainder against the enemy, with no other equipage than the arms they carried. Accordingly he set out about nine in the evening, in order to fight Darius at day-break; who, upon this advice, had drawn up his army in order of battle. Alexander also marched in battle array; for both armies were within two or three leagues of each other. When he was arrived at the mountains, where he could discover the enemy's army, he halted; and having assembled his general officers, as well Macedonians as foreigners, he debated whether they should engage immediately, or pitch their camp in that place. The latter opinion being followed, because it was judged proper for them to view the field of battle, and the manner in which the enemy was drawn up, the army encamped in the same order in which it marched; during which Alexander, at the head of his infantry lightly armed, and his royal regiments, marched round the plain in which the battle was to be fought.

Being returned, he assembled his general officers a second time, and told them, that there was no occasion for making a speech, because their courage and great actions were alone sufficient to excite them to glory ; and he desired them only to represent to the soldiers, that they were not to fight on this occasion for Phœnicia or Egypt, but for all Asia, which would be possessed by him who should conquer ; and that after having gone through so many provinces, and left behind them so great a number of rivers and mountains, they could secure their retreat no otherwise than by gaining a complete victory. After this speech he ordered them to take some repose.

It is said Parmenio advised him to attack the enemy in the night-time, alledging, that they might easily be defeated, if fallen upon by surprise, and in the dark ; but the king answered so loud, that all present might hear him, that it did not become Alexander to steal a victory, and therefore he was resolved to fight and conquer in broad-day-light. This was a haughty, but, at the same time, a prudent answer ; for it was running great hazard, to fall upon so numerous an army in the night-time, and in an unknown country. Darius fearing he should be attacked unawares, because he had not intrenched himself, obliged his soldiers to continue the whole night under arms, which proved of the highest

prejudice to him in the engagement ; for it occasioned his men to go into action fatigued, and worn out with watching. In the mean time Alexander went to bed, to repose himself the remaining part of the night. As he revolved in his mind, not without some emotion, the consequence of the battle which was upon the point of being fought, he could not sleep immediately. But his body being oppressed in a manner by the anxiety of his mind, he slept soundly the whole night, contrary to his usual custom ; so that when his generals were assembled at day-break before his tent, to receive his orders, they were greatly surprized to find he was not awake ; upon which they themselves commanded the soldiers to take some refreshment. Parmenio having at last awaked him, and seeming surprized to find him in so calm and sweet a sleep, just as he was going to fight a battle in which his whole fortune lay at stake ; “ How could it be possible,” said Alexander, “ for me not to be calm, since the enemy is coming to deliver himself into my hands ? ” Upon this he immediately took up his arms, mounted his horse, and rode up and down the ranks, exhorting the troops to behave gallantly, and, if possible, to surpass their ancient fame, and the glory they had hitherto acquired.

There was a great difference between the two armies in respect to numbers, but much more with regard to courage. That of Darius consisted

at least of six hundred thousand foot, and forty thousand horse ; and the other of no more than forty thousand foot, and seven or eight thousand horse ; but the latter was all fire and strength ; whereas, on the side of the Persians, it was a prodigious assemblage of men, not of soldiers ; an empty phantom, rather than a real army. Both sides were disposed in very near the same array. The forces were drawn up in two lines, the cavalry on the two wings, and the infantry in the middle ; the one and the other being under the particular conduct of the chiefs of each of the different nation that composed them, and commanded in general by the principal crown officers. The front of the battle (under Darius) was covered with two hundred chariots, armed with scythes, and with fifteen elephants, that king taking his post in the centre of the first line. Besides the guards, which were the flower of his forces, he also had fortified himself with the Grecian infantry, whom he had drawn up near his person, believing this body only capable of opposing the Macedonian phalanx. As his army spread over a much greater space of ground than that of the enemy, he intended to surround, and to charge them at one and the same time, both in front and flank, which, from Alexander's disposition, he soon after found impossible.

Darius being afraid lest the Macedonians should draw him from the spot of ground he



had levelled, and carry him into another that was rough and uneven, commanded the cavalry in his left wing, which spread much farther than that of the enemy's right, to march directly forward, and wheel about upon the Macedonians in flank, to prevent them from extending their troops farther. Upon which Alexander dispatched against them the body of horse in his service, commanded by Menidas, but as these were not able to make head against the enemy, because of their prodigious numbers, he reinforced them with the Pæonians, whom Aretas commanded, and with the foreign cavalry. Besides the advantage of numbers, the Persians had that also of coats of mail, which secured themselves and their horses much more, and by which Alexander's cavalry was prodigiously annoyed. However, the Macedonians marched to the charge with great bravery, and at last put the enemy to flight.

Upon this the Persians opposed the chariots armed with scythes, against the Macedonian phalanx, in order to break it, but with little success. The noise which the soldiers, who were lightly armed, made by striking their swords against their bucklers, and the arrows which flew on all sides, frightened the horses, and made a great number of them turn back against their own troops. Others, laying hold of the horses' bridles, pulled the riders down, and cut them to pieces. Part of the chariots drove between the

battalions, which opened to make way for them, as they had been ordered to do, by which means they did little or no execution.

Alexander seeing Darius set his whole army in motion, in order to charge him, employed a stratagem to encourage his soldiers. When the battle was at the hottest, and the Macedonians were in the greatest danger, Aristander, the soothsayer, clothed in his white robes, holding a branch of laurel in his hand, advances among the combatants, as he had been instructed by the king; and crying that he saw an eagle hovering over Alexander's head (a sure omen of victory), he shewed with his finger, the pretended bird to the soldiers, who, relying upon the sincerity of the soothsayer, fancied they also saw it, and thereupon renewed the attack with greater chearfulness and ardour than ever. Alexander now pressed to the place in which Darius was stationed, and the presence of the two opposing kings inspired both sides with vigour. Darius was mounted on a chariot, and Alexander on horseback; both surrounded with their bravest officers and soldiers; whose only endeavours were to save the lives of their respective princes, at the hazard of their own. The battle was obstinate and bloody. Alexander having wounded Darius's equerry with a javelin, the Persians as well as Macedonians imagined that the king was killed; upon which the former, breaking aloud into the most dismal sounds, the

whole army was seized with the greatest consternation. The relations of Darius, who were at his left hand, fled away with the guards, and so abandoned the chariot ; but those who were at his right took him into the centre of their body. Historians relate, that this prince, having drawn his cimeter, reflected whether he ought not to lay violent hands upon himself, rather than fly in an ignominious manner. But perceiving from his chariot, that his soldiers still fought, he was ashamed to forsake them ; and as divided between hope and despair, the Persians retired insensibly, and thinned their ranks, when it could no longer be called a battle, but a slaughter. Then Darius turning about his chariot, fled with the rest, and the conqueror was now wholly employed in pursuing him. But in the mean time, finding that the left wing of his army, which was commanded by Parmenio, was in great danger, Alexander was obliged to desist from pursuing Darius, whom he had almost overtaken, and wheeled round to attack the Persian horse, that, after plundering the camp, were retiring in good order ; then he cut in pieces ; and the scale of battle turning in favour of the Macedonians, a total rout of the Persians ensued. The pursuit was warm, and the slaughter amazing. Alexander rode as far as Arbela, after Darius, hoping every moment to come up with that monarch : he had just passed through when Alexander arrived ; but

he left his treasure, with his bow and shield, as a prey to the enemy.

Such was the success of this famous battle, which gave empire to the conqueror. According to Arrian, the Persians lost three hundred thousand men, besides those who were taken prisoners ; which at least is a proof that the loss was very great on their side. That of Alexander's was very inconsiderable ; he not losing, according to the last mentioned author, above twelve hundred men, most of whom were horse. This engagement was fought in the month of October, about the same time that, two years before, the battle of Issus was fought. As Gangamela, in Assyria, the spot where the two armies engaged, was a small place, of very little note, this was called the battle of Arbela, that city being nearest to the field of action.

Darius, after this dreadful defeat rode towards the river Lycus, with a very few attendants. He was advised to break down the bridges, to secure his retreat ; but he refused, saying, He would not save his life at the expence of thousands of his subjects. After riding a great number of miles full speed, he arrived at midnight, at Arbela ; from thence he fled towards Media, over the Armenian mountains, followed by his satraps, and a few of his guards, expecting the worst, despairing of fortune, a wretched survivor of his country's ruin.

In the mean time Alexander approached near



Babylon; and Mazæus, the governor, who had retired thither after the battle of Arbela, surrendered it to him without striking a blow. Alexander therefore entered the city, at the head of his whole army, as if he had been marching to a battle. The walls of Babylon were lined with people, notwithstanding the greatest part of the citizens were gone out before, from the impatient desire they had to see their new sovereign, whose renown had far outstripped his march. Bagophanes, governor of the fortress, and guardian of the treasure, unwilling to discover less zeal than Mazæus, strewed the streets with flowers, and raised on both sides of the way silver altars, which smoked not only with frankincence, but the most fragrant perfumes of every kind. Last of all came the presents which were to be made to the king, viz. herds of cattle, and a great number of horses; as also lions and panthers, which were carried in cages. After these the Magi walked, singing hymns after the manner of their country; then the Chaldeans, accompanied by the Babylonish soothsayers and musicians. The rear was brought up by the Babylonish cavalry; of which both men and horses were so sumptuous, that imagination can scarce reach their magnificence. The king caused the people to walk after the infantry, and himself, surrounded with his guards, and seated on a chariot, entered the city, and from thence rode to the palace, as in

a kind of triumph. The next day he took a view of all Darius's money and moveables, which amounted to incredible sums, and which he distributed with generosity among his soldiers. He gave the government of the province to Mazæus; and the command of the forces he left there to Apollodorus, of Amphipolis.

From Babylon Alexander marched to the province of Cyraceni, afterwards to Susa, where he arrived after a march of twenty days, and found treasures to an infinite amount. These also he applied to the purposes of rewarding merit and courage among his troops. In this city he left the mother and children of Darius; and from thence he went forward till he came to a river called Pasitigris. Having crossed it, with nine thousand foot, and three thousand horse, consisting of Agrians, as well as of Grecian mercenaries, and a reinforcement of three thousand Thracians, he entered the country of Uxii. This region lies near Susa, and extends to the frontiers of Persia, a narrow pass only lying between it and Susiana. Madathes commanded this province. He was not a time server, nor a follower of fortune; but faithful to his sovereign, he resolved to hold out to the last extremity; and for this purpose had withdrawn into his own city, which stood in the midst of craggy rocks, and was surrounded with precipices. Having been forced from thence, he retired into the citadel, whence the besieged sent

thirty deputies to Alexander, to sue for quarter, which they obtained at last, by the interposition of Sysigambis. The king not only pardoned Madathes, who was a near relation of that princess, but likewise set all the captives, and those who had surrendered themselves, at liberty ; permitted them to enjoy their several rights and privileges ; would not suffer the city to be plundered ; but let them plough their lands without paying any tribute. From thence he passed on to the pass of Susa, defended by mountains almost inaccessible, and by Ariobarzanes, with a body of five thousand men ; he there stopped for a while ; but being led by a different route among the mountains, he came over the pass, and so cut the army that defended it in pieces.

Alexander, from an effect of the good fortune which constantly attended him in all his undertakings, having extricated himself happily out of the danger to which he was so lately exposed, marched immediately towards Persia. Being on the road, he received letters from Tiridates, governor of Persepolis, which informed him, that the inhabitants of that city, upon the report of his advancing towards him, were determined to plunder Darius's treasures, with which he was entrusted ; and, therefore, that it was necessary for him to make all the haste imaginable to seize them himself ; that he had only the Araxes to cross, after which the road was smooth and easy. Alexander, upon this news, leaving his

infantry behind, marched the whole night at the head of his cavalry, who were very much harassed by the length and swiftness of his march, and passed the Araxes, on a bridge, which, by his order, had been built some days before.

But as he drew near the city, he perceived a large body of men, who exhibited a memorable instance of the greatest misery. These were about four thousand Greeks, very far advanced in years, who, having been made prisoners of war, had suffered all the torments which the Persian tyranny could inflict. The hands of some had been cut off, the feet of others; and others again had lost their noses and ears. They appeared like so many shadows, rather than like men; speech being almost the only thing by which they were known to be such. Alexander could not refrain from tears at this sight; and as they irresistibly besought him to commiserate their condition, he bade them with the utmost tenderness, not to despond; and assured them that they should again see their wives and country. They chose, however, to remain in a place where misfortune now became habitual; wherefore he rewarded them liberally for their sufferings, and commanded the governor of the province to treat them with mildness and respect. The day following he entered the city of Persepolis, at the head of his victorious soldiers; who, though the inhabitants made no resistance, began to cut in pieces all those



who still remained in the city. However, the king soon put an end to the massacre, and forbade his soldiers to commit any further violence. The riches he had found in other places were but trifling, when compared to those he found here. This, however, did not save the city; for being one day at a banquet among his friends, and happening to drink to excess, the conversation ran upon the various cruelties exercised by the Persians in Greece, particularly at Athens. Thais, an Athenian courtesan, urged the pusillanimity of not taking revenge for such repeated slaughters. These were her words—words which reflect no honour, either on the sensibility of her sex, or the delicacy of Alexander's manners, who could enjoy the company of such a wretch. "This day," cried she, "has fully repaid all my wanderings and troubles in Asia, by putting it in my power to humble the pride of Persia's insolent kings. To wrap the palace of Persepolis in flames, will be a noble deed; but, how much more glorious would it be to fire the palace of that *Xerxes*, who laid the city of Athens in ruins; and to have it told in future times, that *a single woman of Alexander's train*, had taken more signal vengeance on the enemies of Greece, than all her former generals had been able to do." All the guests applauded the discourse; when immediately the king rose from table (his head being crowned with flowers) and, taking a torch in his hand, he advanced

forward, to execute his mad exploit. The whole company followed him, breaking into loud acclamations, and after singing and dancing, surrounded the palace. All the rest of the Macedonians, at this noise, ran in crowds, with lighted tapers, and set fire to every part of it. However, Alexander was sorry not long after for what he had done, and thereupon gave orders for extinguishing the fire; but it was too late.

While Alexander was thus triumphing in all the exultation of success, the wretched Darius was by this time arrived at Ecbatana, the capital of Media. There remained still with this fugitive prince thirty thousand foot; among whom were four thousand Greeks, that were faithful to him to the last. Besides these he had four thousand slingers, and upwards of three thousand Bactrian horse, whom Bessus, their governor, commanded. Darius, even with so small a force, still conceived hopes of opposing his rival, or at least of protracting the war; but he was surrounded with traitors; his want of success had turned all mankind against him: but Nabarzanes, one of the greatest lords of Persia, and general of the horse, had conspired with Bessus, general of the Bactrians, to commit the blackest of all crimes; and that was, to seize upon the person of the king, and lay him in chains, which they might easily do, as each of them had a great number of soldiers under his command. Their design was, if Alexander should pursue them, to

secure themselves, by giving up Darius alive into his hands; and in case they escaped to murder that prince, and afterwards usurp his crown, and begin a new war. These traitors soon won over the troops, by representing to them, that they were going to their destruction; that they would soon be crushed under the ruins of an empire which was just ready to fall; at the same time, that Bactriana was open to them, and offered them immense riches. These promises soon prevailed upon the perfidious army, the Greek mercenaries excepted, who rejected all their proposals with disdain. These brave and generous-minded men gave Darius the strongest proofs of their fidelity and attachment. Thus betrayed by his generals, and pursued by his enemies, they solicited the honour of protecting his person; assuring him, they would do so, at the expence of the last drop of their blood. But his noble spirit would not suffer him to accept the offer. "If my own subjects," said he, "will not grant me protection, how can I submit to receive it from the hands of strangers?" Perhaps he thought, that his avowing his distrust of Bessus would have hastened the calamities which he and his accomplices were meditating. His faithful Grecian soldiers finding it beyond their power to grant him any relief, threw themselves upon the mercy of Alexander; who, in consideration of their noble spirit, forgave them, and employed

them in his own service. The traitors seized and bound their monarch in chains of gold, under the appearance of honour, as he was a king ; then inclosing him in a covered chariot, they set out towards Bactriana. In this manner they carried him, with the utmost dispatch ; until being informed that the Grecian army was still hotly pursuing them, they found it impossible either to conciliate the friendship of Alexander, or to secure a throne for themselves ; they therefore once more gave Darius his liberty, and desired him to make the best of his escape with them from the conqueror ; but he replied, That the gods were ready to revenge the evils he had already suffered ; and, appealing to Alexander for justice, refused to follow a band of traitors. At these words they fell into the utmost fury, thrusting him with their darts and their spears, and left him to linger in this manner, unattended, the remains of his wretched life. The traitors then made their escape different ways ; while the victorious Macedonians, at length coming up, found Darius in a solitude, lying in his chariot, and drawing near his end. However, he had strength enough before he died, to call for drink, which a Macedonian, Polystratus by name, brought him. The generosity of the unfortunate monarch shone forth, on this melancholy occasion, in the address he made to this stranger. “ Now, indeed,” said he, “ I suffer the extremity of misery, since it is not in my



power to reward thee for this act of humanity." He had a Persian prisoner, whom he employed as his interpreter. Darius, after drinking the liquor that had been given him, turned to the Macedonian, and said, That in the deplorable state to which he was reduced, he however should have the comfort to speak to one who could understand him, and that his last words would not be lost. He therefore charged him to tell Alexander, That he had died in his debt ; that he gave him many thanks for the great humanity he had exercised towards his mother, his wife, and his children, whose lives he had not only spared, but restored to their former splendor ; that he besought the gods to give victory to his arms, and make him monarch of the universe ; that he thought he need not intreat him to revenge the execrable murder committed on his person, as this was the common cause of kings.

After this, taking Polystratus by the hand.—“ Give him,” said he, “ thy hand, as I give thee mine ; and carry him, in my name, the only pledge I am able to give of my gratitude and affections.” Saying these words, he breathed his last.

Alexander coming up a moment after, and seeing Darius's body, he wept bitterly ; and, by the strongest testimonies of affection that could be given, proved how intimately he was affected with the unhappiness of a prince who deserved

a better fate. He immediately pulled off his military cloak, and threw it on Darius's body ; then causing it to be embalmed, and his coffin to be adorned with royal magnificence, he sent it to Sysigambis, to be interred with the honours usually paid to the deceased Persian monarchs, and entombed with his ancestors. Thus died Darius, in the fiftieth year of his age, six of which he reigned with felicity. In him the Persian empire ended, after having existed from the time of Cyrus the Great, a period of two hundred and ninety-nine years.

The traitor, Bessus, did not escape the fate due to his crime. Alexander pursued him, to avenge on the murderer the death of his royal master ; for he did not consider Darius so much in the capacity of an enemy as Bessus in that of a friend to the person he had basely slain. After wandering, in anxiety and horror, from province to province, he was delivered by the associates of his guilt into the hands of Alexander, by whom he was put to a cruel death.

The death of Darius only served to inflame the spirit of ambition in Alexander to pursue further conquests. After having in vain attempted to pursue Bessus, who now assumed the name of king, he desisted, in order to cross Parthia, and in three days arrived on the frontiers of Hyrcania, which submitted to his arms. He afterwards subdued the Mandii, the Arii, the Drangæ, the Arachosii, and several other nations,

into which his army marched with greater speed than people generally travel. He frequently would pursue an enemy for whole days and nights together, almost without suffering his troops to take any rest. By this prodigious rapidity, he came unawares upon nations who thought him at a great distance, and subdued them before they had time to put themselves in a posture of defence.

It was upon one of these excursions that Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, came to pay him a visit. A violent desire of seeing Alexander had prompted that princess to leave her dominions, and travel through a great number of countries to gratify her curiosity. Being come pretty near his camp, she sent word, That a queen was come to visit him; and that she had a prodigious inclination to cultivate his acquaintance, and accordingly was arrived within a little distance from that place. Alexander having returned a favourable answer, she commanded her train to stop, and herself came forward, with three hundred women; and the moment she perceived the king, she leaped from her horse, having two lances in her right hand. She looked upon the king without discovering the least sign of admiration, and surveying him attentively, did not think his stature answerable to his fame; for the Barbarians are very much struck with a majestic air, and think those only capable of mighty achievements, on whom nature

has bestowed bodily advantages. She did not scruple to tell him, that the chief motive of her journey was to have posterity by him ; adding, that she was worthy of giving heirs to his empire. Alexander, upon this request, was obliged to make some stay in this place ; after which Thalestris returned to her kingdom, and the king into the province inhabited by the Parthians.

Alexander, now enjoying a little repose, abandoned himself to sensuality ; and he whom the arms of the Persians could not conquer, fell a victim to their vices. Nothing was now to be seen but games, parties of pleasure, women, and excessive feasting, in which he used to revel whole days and nights. Not satisfied with the buffoons and the performers on instrumental music, whom he had brought with him out of Greece, he obliged the captive women, whom he carried along with him, to sing songs, after the manner of their country. He happened, among these women, to perceive one who appeared in deeper affliction than the rest ; and who, by a modest, and at the same time a noble confusion, discovered a greater reluctance than the others to appear in public. She was a perfect beauty, which was very much heightened by her bashfulness ; whilst she threw her eyes to the ground, and did all in her power to conceal her face. The king soon imagined, by her air and mien, that she was not of vulgar birth,



and enquiring himself into it, the lady answered, That she was grand-daughter to Ochus, who not long before had swayed the Persian sceptre, and daughter of his son ; that she had married Hystaspes, who was related to Darius, and general of a great army. Alexander being touched with compassion, when he heard the unhappy fate of a princess of the blood-royal, and the sad condition to which she was reduced, not only gave her liberty, but returned all her possessions ; and caused her husband to be sought for, in order that she might be restored to him.

But now the veteran soldiers who had fought under Philip, not having the least idea of sensuality, inveighed publicly against the prodigious luxury, and the numerous vices, which the army had learnt in Susa and Ecbatana. The king therefore thought that the safest remedy would be to employ them, and for that purpose led them against Bessus. But as the army was incumbered with booty and an useless train of baggage, so that it could scarce move, he first caused all his own baggage to be carried into a great square, and afterwards that of his army (such things excepted as were absolutely necessary ; ) then ordered the whole to be carried from thence in carts to a large plain. Every one was in great pain to know the meaning of all this ; but after he had sent away the horses, he himself set fire to his own things, and commanded every one to follow his example.

Hitherto we have seen Alexander triumphing by a course of virtue, we are now to behold him swollen up by success, spoiled by flattery and enervated by vices, exhibiting a very doubtful character, and mixing the tyrant with the hero. A conspiracy was formed against him by one Dymnus; this was communicated by a Macedonian soldier to Philotas, one of Alexander's favourites. Philotas neglected divulging it to his master; and thus became suspected himself as being concerned in the conspiracy. Parmenio also, the father of this young favourite, became equally obnoxious; and as the suspicion of tyrants is equally fatal with a conviction, Alexander doomed both to destruction.

In the beginning of the night, various parties of guards having been posted in the several places necessary, some entered the tent of Philotas, who was then in a deep sleep, when starting from his slumbers, as they were putting manacles on his hands, he cried, "Alas! my sovereign, the inveteracy of my enemies has got the better of your goodness." After this they covered his face and brought him to the palace without uttering a single word. His hands were tied behind him, and his head covered with a coarse worn-out piece of cloth. Lost to himself he did not dare to look up, or open his lips; but the tears streaming from his eyes, he fainted away in the arms of the man who held him. As the standers-by wiped off the tears in which his

face was bathed, recovering his speech and his voice by insensible degrees, he seemed desirous of speaking.

The result of this interview was, that Philotas should be put to the rack. The persons who presided on that occasion, were his most inveterate enemies, and they made him suffer every kind of torture. Philotas at first discovered the utmost resolution and strength of mind ; the torments he suffered not being able to force from him a single word, nor even so much as a sigh. But at last, conquered by pain, he acknowledged himself to be guilty, named several accomplices, and, as his tormentors would have it, accused his own father. The next day the answers of Philotas were read in full assembly, he himself being present. Upon the whole he was unanimously sentenced to die ; immediately after which he was stoned according to the custom of Macedonia, with some other of the conspirators.

The condemnation of Philotas brought on that of Parmenio : whether it was that Alexander really believed him guilty, or was afraid of the father, now he had put the son to death. Polydamus, one of the lords of the court, was appointed to see the execution performed. He had been one of Parmenio's most intimate friends, if we may give that name to courtiers, who study only their own fortunes. This was the very reason of his being nominated, because

no one could suspect that he was sent with any such orders against Parmenio. He therefore set out for Media, where that general commanded the army, and was entrusted with the king's treasure, which amounted to an hundred and fourscore thousand talents, about twenty-seven millions sterling. Alexander had given him several letters for Cleander, the king's lieutenant in the province, and for the principal officers. Two were for Parmenio; one of them from Alexander, and the other sealed with Philotas's seal, as if he had been alive, to prevent the father from harbouring the least suspicion. Polydamus was but eleven days on his journey, and alighted in the night-time at Cleander's. After having taken all the precautions necessary, they went together with a great number of attendants to meet Parmenio, who at this time was walking in a park of his own. The moment Polydamus spied him, though at a great distance, he ran to embrace him with an air of the utmost joy; and after compliments, intermixed with the strongest indications of friendship, had passed on both sides, he gave him Alexander's letter, which opening, and afterwards that under the name of Philotas, he seemed pleased with the contents. At that very instant Cleander thrust a dagger into his side, then made another thrust in his throat; and the rest gave him several wounds, even after he was dead. He was



at the time of his death threescore and ten years of age, and had served his master with a fidelity and zeal, which in the end was thus rewarded.

In the three great battles which made Alexander master of Persia, Parmenio had the honour of commanding the left wing. Alexander had felt the good effects both of his military skill, and of his zeal for his welfare and success ; he therefore respected him, and all his soldiers revered and loved him. Philotas, whom we have found even forced to become the accuser of his innocent father, and cruelly put to death, was the last of three brothers. The other two had been bred to arms ; they were both men of valour, and had fallen in supporting the mad ambition of their father's murderer.

In order to prevent the ill consequences that might arise from the contemplation of these cruelties, Alexander set out upon his march, and continued to pursue Bessus, upon which occasion he exposed himself to great hardships and dangers. Bessus, however, was treated by his followers in the same manner he had treated the king his master : Spitamenes, his chief confidant, having formed a conspiracy against him, seized his person, put him in chains, forced the royal robes from his back ; and with a chain round his neck, he was delivered up in the most ignominious manner to Alexander. The king caused this man to be treated with his usual cruelty ; after reproaching him for his treachery,

and causing his nose and ears to be cut off, he sent him to Ecbatana, there to suffer whatever punishment Darius's mother should think proper to inflict upon him. Four trees were bent by main force, one towards the other, and to each of these trees one of the limbs of this traitor's body was fastened. Afterwards, these trees being let return to their natural position, they flew back with so much violence, that each tore away the limb that was fixed to it, and so quartered him.

Thus uniting in his person at once great cruelty and great enterprize, Alexander still marched forward in search of new nations whom he might subdue. A city inhabited by the Branchidæ he totally overturned, and massacred all the inhabitants in cold blood, only for being descended from some traitorous Greeks, that had delivered up the treasures of a temple with which they had been entrusted. He then advanced to the river Jaxarthes, where he received a wound in the leg. From thence he went forward, and took the capital of Sogdiana; at which place he received an embassy from the Scythians, who lived free and independent, but now submitted to him. It is supposed, however, by some, that this was only the submission of some bordering tribes: for it appears, from the united testimony of Arrian and Q. Curtius, that the renowned discipline and courage of the Macedonian army, had so small an effect on the un-

tractable but free spirits of the Scythians, that Alexander was forced to retire, covered with disgrace, and to turn his arms on a foe less capable of resistance. Curtius says, that the Macedonians sustained such a loss in one particular battle, that death was the consequence of making the least mention of the event of that battle. If we consider the abrupt manner in which those barbarians attacked, the rapidity with which they retreated, and that they were in their own country, and surrounded by forests impenetrable to all but to themselves, we shall not find it difficult to credit what historians have said.

Alexander then marched to Cyropolis, and besieged it. This was the last city of the Persian empire, and had been built by Cyrus, after whom it was called ; and taking the place, he abandoned it to plunder. In this manner he went on, capriciously destroying some towns and building others, settling colonies in some places, and laying whole provinces waste at his pleasure. Among his other projects, an invasion of the kingdom of Scythia was one ; but the crossing of the river Jaxarthes was by no means an easy task ; however, Alexander being always foremost in encountering dangers, led on his troops accross the stream, which was very rapid, and gained a signal victory over the Scythians, who vainly attempted to oppose him on the other side.

A strong hold, called Petra Oxiani, defended by a garrison of thirty thousand soldiers, with ammunition and provision for two years, was still considered as impregnable. However, as difficulties only seemed to excite his ambition, his soldiers scaled the cliff; and the barbarians, supposing that the whole Macedonian army was got over their heads, surrendered upon condition that their lives should be spared; but Alexander, forgetting the faith of a treaty, and the humanity which became a soldier on this occasion, caused them all to be scourged with rods, and afterwards to be fixed to crosses at the foot of the same rock.

After this, having subdued the Massagetæ and Dahæ, he entered the province of Barsaria, from thence he advanced to Maracanda, and appointed Clitus governor of that province. This was an old officer, who had fought under Philip, and signalized himself on many occasions. At the battle of the Granicus, as Alexander was fighting bare-headed, and Rasaces had his arm raised, in order to strike him behind, Clitus covered the king with his shield, and cut off the barbarian's hand. Hellanice, his sister, had nursed Alexander, and he loved her with as much tenderness as if she had been his own mother.

This favour, however, only advanced Clitus to a post of greater danger. One evening, at an entertainment, the king, after drinking im-



moderately, began to celebrate his own exploits; his boasting even shocked those very persons who knew that he spoke truth, but particularly the old generals of his army, whose admirations were engrossed, in some measure, by the actions of his father. Clitus was intoxicated, and turning about to those who sat below him at table, quoted to them a passage from Euripides, but in such a manner that the king could only hear his voice, and not the words distinctly. The sense of the passage was, That the Greeks had done very wrong in ordaining, that in the inscriptions engraved on trophies, the names of kings only should be mentioned; because, by these means, brave men were robbed of the glory they had purchased with their blood. The king, suspecting Clitus had let drop some disobliging expressions, asked those who sat nearest him what he had said. As no one answered, Clitus, raising his voice by degrees, began to relate the actions of Philip, and his wars in Greece, preferring them to whatever was doing at that time; which created a great dispute between the young and old men. Though the king was prodigiously vexed in his mind, he nevertheless stifled his resentment, and seemed to listen very patiently to all Clitus spoke to his prejudice. It is probable he would have quite suppressed his passion, had Clitus stopped there; but the latter growing more and more insolent, as if determined to exasperate and insult the king, he

went such lengths as to defend Parmenio publicly; and to assert, that the destroying of Thebes was but trifling, in comparison of the victory which Philip had gained over the Athenians; and that the old Macedonians, though sometimes unsuccessful, were greatly superior to those who were so rash as to despise them.

Alexander telling him, that in giving cowardice the name of ill success, he was pleading his own cause; Clitus rises up, with his eyes sparkling with wine and anger.—“It is, nevertheless, this hand (said he to him, extending it at the same time) that saved your life, at the battle of Granicus. It is the blood and wounds of these very Macedonians, who are accused of cowardice, that raised you to this grandeur; but the tragical end of Parmenio shews what rewards they and myself may expect for all our services.” This last reproach stung Alexander: however, he still restrained his passion, and only commanded him to leave the table. “He is in the right (says Clitus, as he rose up) not to bear free-born men at his table, who can only tell him truth. He will do well to pass his life among barbarians and slaves, who will be proud to pay their adoration to his Persian girdle and his white robe.” But now the king, no longer able to suppress his rage, snatched a javelin from one of his guards, and would have killed Clitus on the spot, had not the courtiers withheld his arm, and Clitus been forced, but with

great difficulty, out of the hall. However, he returned into it that moment by another door, singing, with an air of insolence, verses reflecting highly on the prince, who seeing the general near him, struck him with his javelin, and laid him dead at his feet, crying out at the same time—"Go now to Philip, to Parmenio, and to Attalus."

The king had no sooner murdered his faithful servant, than he perceived the atrociousness of the act: he threw himself upon the dead body, forced out the javelin, and would have destroyed himself, had he not been prevented by his guards, who seized and carried him forcibly to his own apartment, where the flattery and the persuasion of his friends, at length, served to alleviate his remorse. In order to divert his melancholy, Alexander having drawn his army out of the garrisons, where they had wintered three months, marched towards a country called Gabanā. In his way he met with a dreadful storm, in which his army suffered greatly: from thence he went into the country of Sacæ, which he soon over-run, and laid waste. Soon after this Axertes, one of its monarchs, received him in his palace, which was adorned with barbarous magnificence. He had a daughter, called Roxana, a young lady whose exquisite beauty was heightened by the charms of wit and good sense. Alexander found her charms irresistible, and made her his wife; covering his passion with

the specious pretence of uniting the two nations in such bonds as should improve their mutual harmony, by blending their interests, and throwing down all distinctions between the conquerors and the conquered. This marriage displeased the Macedonians very much, and exasperated his chief courtiers, when it was seen that he made one of his slaves his father-in-law. But as, after murdering Clitus, no one dared to speak to him with freedom, they applauded what he did with their eyes and countenances, for they had nothing else left that was free.

Alexander having thus conquered all the Persian provinces, now, with boundless ambition, resolved upon a perilous march into India. This country was considered as the richest in the world, not only in gold, but in pearls and precious stones, with which the inhabitants adorned themselves; but being willing either to impress his soldiers with an idea of his authority, or to imitate the barbarians in the magnificence of their titles, he was resolved not only to be called, but to be believed, the son of Jupiter; as if it had been possible for him to command as absolutely over the mind as over the tongue, and that the Macedonians would condescend to fall prostrate and adore him, after the Persian manner.

To soothe and cherish these ridiculous pretensions, there were not wanting flatterers, those



common pests of a court, who are more dangerous to princes than the arrows of their enemies. But the Macedonians, indeed, would not stoop to this base adulation; all of them, to a man, refusing to vary in any manner from the customs of their country. Among the number who disdained to offer these base adulations was Callisthenes, the philosopher; but his integrity cost him his life: he was accused of being privy to a conspiracy formed by Hermolaus, a young officer, upon the life of the king, and for this reason he was thrown into a dungeon, and loaded with irons. He soon found that he had no mercy to expect; the most grievous tortures were inflicted upon him, in order to extort a confession of guilt; but he persisted in his innocence to the last, and expired in the midst of his torments.

The kingdom of India, for which Alexander now set out, was an extensive territory, which has been usually divided into two parts, India on this side, and India on the other side of the Ganges. All the Indians at that time were free, nor did they even adopt the base custom of the Greeks, in purchasing slaves to do the common offices of life. The people of that country were then divided into seven classes: the first and most honourable, though the smallest, were the guardians of religion; the second and the greatest was that of the husbandmen, whose only employment was to cultivate the ground; the third

was that of herdsmen and shepherds, who led the herds and flocks among the mountains; the fourth consisted of tradesmen and merchants, among whom pilots and seamen were included; the fifth was of soldiers, whose only employment was war; the sixth was of magistrates, who superintended the actions of others, either in cities or in the country, and reported the whole to the king; the seventh class consisted of persons employed in the public councils, and who shared the cares of government with their sovereign. These orders of state never blended nor intermarried with each other; none of them were permitted to follow two professions at the same time, nor quit one class for another.

Alexander, having entered India, all the petty kings of the country came to meet him, and make their submissions. On his march he took the city of Nysa: he then marched towards Dædala, and dispersed his army over the whole country, and took possession of it without resistance. He afterwards went forward towards the city of Hagosa, which, after being besieged in form, surrendered at discretion. He next attacked the rock of Aornos, which was deemed inaccessible, and which it was said Hercules himself was not able to take; but the garrison, struck with the vastness of his warlike preparations, in a panic delivered it up to his army. He was said to have been very much elated with his success in reducing this fortress,

which had bid defiance to the might of the great founder of his race. From thence he marched to Acleslinus; and, after a march of sixteen days, arrived on the banks of the great river Indus, where he found that Hephæstion had got all things ready for his passage, pursuant to the orders he had before received. Here he was met by Omphis, a king of the country, who did homage to Alexander, and made him a present of fifty-six elephants, and other animals of prodigious size. The ambassadors from Abisares, a neighbouring monarch, came with the same offers, sent presents, and promised fidelity. There was still a third monarch, whose name was Porus, from whom Alexander expected similar submission, he even went to require it of him; but Porus answered with great coldness, that while he could fight, he should disdain to obey.

In pursuance of this message Alexander resolved to enforce obedience; and giving the superintendence of the elephants to Omphis, who had now changed his name to Taxilus, he advanced as far as the borders of the Hydaspes. Porus was encamped on the other side of it, in order to dispute the passage with him, and had posted at the head of his army eighty-five elephants of a prodigious size and behind them three hundred chariots, guarded by thirty thousand foot, not having, at most, above seven thou-



sand horse. This prince was mounted upon an elephant of a much larger size than any of the rest, and he himself exceeded the usual stature of men: so that, clothed in his armour glittering with gold and silver, he appeared at the same time terrible and majestic. The greatness of his courage equalled that of his stature; and he was as wise and prudent as it was possible for the monarch of so barbarous a people to be.

The Macedonians dreaded not only the enemy, but the river they were obliged to pass. It was four furlongs wide (about four hundred fathoms) and so deep in every part, that it looked like a sea, and was no where fordable. It was vastly impetuous, notwithstanding its great breadth, for it rolled with as much violence as if it had been confined to a narrow channel; and its raging, foaming waves, which broke in many places, discovered that it was full of stones and rocks. However, nothing was so dreadful as the appearance of the shore, which was quite covered with men, horses, and elephants. Those hideous animals stood like so many towers, and the Indians exasperated them, in order that the horrid cry they made might fill the enemy with great terror. However, this could not intimidate an army of men whose courage was proof against all attacks, and who were animated by an uninterrupted series of prosperities; but then they did not think it



would be possible for them, as the banks were so crowded, to surmount the rapidity of the stream, or land with safety.

Alexander was in great perplexity with the difficulties that attended the passage of this narrow river; however, he resolved to attempt it by night, and chose one whose lightning, thunder, and impetuous winds, conspired to drown the noise of his troops in their embarkation. He did not, however, venture to cross with them in the very face of the enemy; but led them a few miles higher up the river, where the jutting out of a rock favoured his design. In this situation scarce any person appeared to oppose their descent; and the moment Alexander was landed, he drew up the forces that had passed with him, consisting of six thousand foot, and five thousand horse, in order of battle.

Porus, upon hearing that Alexander had passed the river, had sent against him a detachment, commanded by one of his sons, of two thousand horse, and one hundred and twenty chariots. Alexander imagined them at the first to be the enemy's van-guard, and that the whole army was behind them; but being informed it was but a detachment, he charged them with such vigour, that Porus's son was killed on the spot, with four hundred horses, and all the chariots were taken.

Porus upon receiving advice of the death of his son, the defeat of the detachment, and of

Alexander's approach, resolved to go and meet Alexander, whom he justly supposed to be at the head of the choicest troops of his army. Accordingly, leaving only a few elephants in his camp, to amuse those who were posted on the opposite shore, he set out with thirty thousand foot, four thousand horse, three thousand chariots, and two hundred elephants. Being come into a firm, sandy soil, in which his horses and chariots might wheel about with ease, he drew up his army in battle array, with an intent to wait the coming up of the enemy. He posted in front, and on the first line, all the elephants, at a hundred feet distance one from the other, in order that they might serve as a bulwark to his foot, who were behind. It was his opinion that the enemy's cavalry would not dare to engage in these intervals, because of the fear those horses would have of the elephants; and much less the infantry, when they should see that of the enemy posted behind the elephants, and in danger of being trod to pieces. He had posted some of his foot on the same line with the elephants, in order to cover their right and left; and this infantry was covered by his two wings of horse, before which the chariots were posted. Such was the order and disposition of Porus's army.

Alexander being come in sight of the enemy, waited the coming up of his foot, which marched with the utmost diligence, and arrived a little

after : and in order that they might have time to take breath, and not to be led so much fatigued as they were against the enemy, he caused his horse to make a great many evolutions, in order to gain time. But now every thing being ready, and the infantry having sufficiently recovered their vigour, Alexander gave the signal of battle. He did not think proper to begin by attacking the enemy's main body, where the infantry and the elephants were posted, for the very reason which had made Porus draw them up in that manner. But his cavalry being stronger, he drew out the greatest part of them, and marching against the left wing, sent Cœnus with his own regiment of horse, and that of Demetrius, to charge them at the same time, ordering him to attack their cavalry on the left behind, during which he himself would charge them both in front and flank. Seleucus, Antigonus, and Tauron, who commanded the foot, were ordered not to stir from their posts, till Alexander's cavalry had put that of the enemy, as well as their foot, into disorder.

Being come within arrow-shot, he detached a thousand bow-men on horseback, with orders for them to make their discharge on the horse of Porus's left wing : in order to throw it into disorder, whilst he himself would charge this body in flank, before it had time to rally. The Indians having joined again their squadrons, and drawn them up into a narrower compass,

advanced against Alexander. At that instant Cœnus charged them in the rear, according to the orders given him ; insomuch, that the Indians were obliged to face about on all sides, to defend themselves from the thousand bowmen, and against Alexander and Cœnus. Alexander, to make the best advantage of the confusion into which this sudden attack had thrown them, charged with great vigour those that had made head against him ; who being no longer able to stand so violent an attack, were soon broke, and retired behind the elephants, as to an impregnable rampart. The leaders of the elephants made them advance against the enemy's horse ; but that very instant the Macedonian phalanx moving on a sudden, surrounded those animals, and charged with their pikes the elephants themselves, and their leaders. This battle was very different from all those which Alexander had hitherto fought ; for the elephants rushing upon the battalions, broke, with inexpressible fury, the thickest of them ; when the Indian horse, seeing the Macedonian foot stopped by the elephants, returned to the charge : however, that of Alexander being stronger, and having greater experience in war, broke this body a second time, and obliged it to retire towards the elephants ; upon which the Macedonian horse, being all united in one body, spread terror and confusion wherever they attacked. The elephants being all covered with



wounds, and the greatest part having lost their leaders, did not observe their usual order ; but distracted as it were with pain, no longer distinguished friends from foes ; but running about from place to place, they overthrew every thing that came in their way. The Macedonians, who had purposely left a greater interval between their battalions, either made way for them whenever they came forward, or charged with darts, those that fear and the tumult obliged to retire. Alexander, after having surrounded the enemy with his horse, made a signal to his foot to march up with all imaginable speed, in order to make a last effort, and to fall upon them with his whole force ; all which they executed very successfully. In this manner the greatest part of the Indian cavalry were cut to pieces ; and a body of their foot, which sustained no less loss, seeing themselves charged on all sides, at last fled. Catorus, who had continued in the camp with the rest of his army, seeing Alexander engaged with Porus, crossed the river, and charging the routed soldiers with his troops, who were cool and vigorous, by that means killed as many enemies in the retreat, as had fallen in the battle.

The Indians lost, on this occasion, twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse ; not to mention the chariots, which were all broken to pieces, and the elephants, that were either killed or taken. Porus's two sons fell in this

battle, with Spitacus, governor of the province, all the colonels of horse and foot, and those who guided the elephants and chariots. As for Alexander, he lost but fourscore of the six thousand soldiers who were at the first charge, ten bow-men of the horse, twenty of his horse-guards, and two hundred common soldiers.

Porus, after having performed all the duty both of a soldier and a general in the battle, and fought with incredible bravery, seeing all his horse defeated, and the greatest part of his foot, did not behave like the great Darius, who, in a like disaster, was the first that fled: on the contrary, he continued in the field as long as one battalion or squadron stood their ground; but at last, having received a wound in the shoulder, he retired upon his elephant, and was easily distinguished from the rest by the greatness of his stature, and his unparalleled bravery. Alexander finding who he was by those glorious marks, and being desirous of saving this king, sent Taxilus after him, because he was of the same nation. The latter, advancing as near to him as he might without any danger of being wounded, called to him to stop, in order to hear the message he had brought from Alexander. Porus turning back, and seeing it was Taxilus, his old enemy, "How!" says he, "is it not Taxilus that calls; that traitor to his country and kingdom!" Immediately after which, he would have transfixed him with his dart, had he not

instantly retired. Notwithstanding this Alexander was still desirous to save so brave a prince; and thereupon dispatched other officers, among whom was Meroe, one of his intimate friends, who besought him, in the strongest terms, to wait upon a conqueror altogether worthy of him; after much entreaty, Porus consented, and accordingly set forward. Alexander, who had been told of his coming, advanced forwards, in order to receive him, with some of his train. Being come pretty near, Alexander stopped, purposely to take a view of his stature and noble mien, he being about five cubits in height. Porus did not seem dejected at his misfortune, but came up with a resolute countenance, like a valiant warrior, whose courage in defending his dominions ought to acquire him the esteem of the brave prince who had taken him prisoner. Alexander spoke first; and, with an august and gracious air, asked him how he desired to be treated? "Like a king," replied Porus. "But," continued Alexander, "do you ask nothing more?" "No," replied Porus, "all things are included in that single word." Alexander, struck with this greatness of soul, the magnanimity of which seemed heightened by distress, did not only restore him his kingdom, but annexed other provinces to it, and treated him with the highest testimonies of honour, esteem, and friendship. —Porus was faithful to him till his death. It is

hard to say whether the victor or the vanquished best deserved praise on this occasion.

Alexander built a city on the spot where the battle had been fought; and another in that place where he had crossed the river. He called the one Nicæa, from his victory: and the other Bucephalus, in honour of his horse, who died there, not of his wounds but of old age. After having paid the last duties to such of his soldiers as had lost their lives in battle, he solemnized games, and offered up sacrifices of thanks in the place where he had passed the Hydaspes.

Alexander having now conquered Porus, advanced into India; which, having never been a warlike nation, he subdued with the rapidity rather of a traveller than a conqueror. Numberless petty states submitted to him, sensible that his stay would be short, and his conquests evanescent.

Alexander, passing near a city where several Brachmans, or Indian priests dwelt, was very desirous to converse with them, and if possible to prevail with some of them to follow him. Being informed that these philosophers never made visits, but that those who had an inclination to see them must go to their houses, he concluded that it would be beneath his dignity to go to them; and not just to force these sages to any thing contrary to their laws and usages. Onesicritus, the philosopher, who had been a



disciple of Diogenes, the Cynick, was deputed to them. He met not far from the city fifteen Brachmans, who, from morning till evening, stood always naked in the same posture in which they at first had placed themselves, and afterwards returned to the city at night. He addressed himself first to Calanus, an Indian, reputed the wisest man of his country, who, though he professed the practice of the most severe philosophy, had, however, been persuaded in his extreme old age to attend upon the court, and to him he told the occasion of his coming. The latter, gazing upon Onésicritus's clothes and shoes, could not forbear laughing; after which he told him,—That anciently the earth had been covered with barley and wheat, as it was at that time with dust; that besides water, the rivers used to flow with milk, honey, oil, and wine; that man's guilt had occasioned a change of this happy condition; and that Jupiter, to punish their ingratitude, had sentenced them to a long, painful labour. That their repentance afterwards moving him to compassion, he had restored them their former abundance; however, that by the course of things they seemed to be returning to their ancient confusion.—This relation shews evidently, that these philosophers had some notion of the felicity of the first man, and of the evil to which he had been sentenced for his sins.

Onesicritus was very urgent with both of

them to quit their austere way of life, and follow the fortune of Alexander, saying—"That they would find in him a generous master and benefactor, who would heap upon them honour and riches of all kinds." Then Mandanis, assuming a haughty philosophical tone, answered, "That he did not want Alexander, and was the son of Jupiter as well as himself; that he was exempted from want, desire, or fear: that so long as he should live, the earth would furnish him with all things necessary for his subsistence, and that death would rid him of a troublesome companion (meaning his body) and set him at full liberty." Calanus appeared more tractable, and notwithstanding the opposition, and even the prohibition of his superior, who reproached him for his abject spirit, in stooping so low as to serve another master besides God, he followed Onesicritus, and went to Alexander's court, who received him with great demonstrations of joy. As it was Alexander's chief ambition to imitate Bacchus and Hercules in their expeditions into the East, he resolved like them, to penetrate as long as he could find new nations to conquer. However, his soldiers, satiated with spoil, and fatigued with repeated encounters, at last began to open their eyes to the wildness of his ambition. Some bewailed their calamities in such terms as raised compassion; others insolently cried out, "That they would march no further." The

chief object of the king's wishes, was to invade the territories of Agramenes, a prince who lived beyond the great river Ganges, and who was able to bring into the field two hundred thousand foot, two thousand elephants, twenty thousand horse, and two thousand armed chariots. The soldiers, however, refused to wander over those great deserts that lay beyond the Ganges, and more terrible to them than the greatest army the East could muster. He addressed them in the most persuasive terms not to leave their general behind: he threatened them that he would take his Scythian and his Persian soldiers, and with them alone make conquests worthy of his name and of his glory; but still the Macedonian soldiers persisted, sullen and inflexible, and at last complied, after many persuasive orations, only to follow him towards the South, to discover the nearest ocean, and to take the course of the river Indus as their infallible guide.

For this expedition he embarked in a fleet consisting of eight hundred vessels, as well gallees as boats, which carried the troops and provisions. After five days' sailing, the fleet arrived where the Hydaspes and the Acesines mixed their streams. There the ships were very much shattered, because these rivers unite with prodigious rapidity. At last he came to the country of the Oxydraci and the Malli, the most valiant people in the East: however, Alexander de-

feated them in several engagements, dispossessed them of their strong holds, and at last marched against their capital city, where the greatest part of their forces were retired. It was upon this occasion that, seizing a scaling ladder, himself first mounted the wall, followed only by two of his officers : his attendants believing him to be in danger, mounted swiftly to succour him, but the ladder breaking he was left alone. It was now that his rashness became his safety ; for leaping from the wall into the city, which was crowded with enemies, sword in hand, he repulsed such as were nearest, and even killed the general, who advanced in the throng. Thus with his back to a tree that happened to be near, he received all the darts of the enemy in a shield, and kept even the boldest at a distance. At last, an Indian discharging an arrow of three feet long, it pierced his coat of mail and his right breast, and so great a quantity of blood issued from the wound, that he dropped his arms, and lay as dead. The Indian came to strip him, supposing him really what he appeared ; but Alexander that instant recalled his spirits, and plunged a dagger in his side. By this time a part of the king's attendants came to his succour, and forming themselves round his body, till his soldiers without found means of bursting the gates saved him, and put all the inhabitants without distinction to the sword.

The wound, which at first seemed dangerous,



having in the space of six or seven days a most favourable appearance, Alexander mounted his horse, and shewed himself to the army, who seemed to view him with insatiable pleasure. Thus continuing his voyage, and subduing the country on each side as he passed along, the pilots perceived from the swell of the river that the sea could not be far distant; and they informed the king that they already felt the breezes of the ocean. Nothing so much astonished the Macedonian soldiers as the ebbing and flowing of the tide. Accustomed to the gentle floods of the Mediterranean, they were amazed when they saw the Indus rise to a great height, and overflow the country, which they considered as a mark of divine resentment; they were no less terrified some hours after, when they saw the river forsake its banks, and leave those lands uncovered which it had so lately overflowed. Thus, after a voyage of nine months, he at last stood upon the shore; and after having offered sacrifices to Neptune, and having looked wistfully on the broad expanse of waters before him, he is said to have wept for having no more worlds left to conquer. Here he put an end to his excursions: and having appointed Nearchus admiral of his fleet, with orders to coast along the Indian shore as far as the Persian gulph, he set out with his army for Babylon.

Nothing could exceed the hardships which his army sustained in their return: passing

through a country destitute of all sorts of provisions, they were obliged to feast on the beasts of burden, and were forced to burn those rich spoils, for the sake of which they had encountered so many dangers; those diseases also that generally accompany famine, completed their calamity, and destroyed them in great numbers. The king's fortitude appeared to great advantage on this trying occasion. The army being in absolute want of water, some soldiers were sent to endeavour to find out a spring. They fortunately fell upon one; but it yielded them but a very small quantity of water. With what they had got, the soldiers returned rejoicing to the king, who, instead of drinking it, poured it upon the ground; unwilling that his soldiers should sustain a calamity in which he refused to bear a part. This generous act inspired the soldiery with fresh spirits. After a march of threescore days, they arrived in the province of Gedrosia, the fertility of which soon banished from the minds of the soldiery all their former difficulties. Alexander passed through the country not with the military pomp of a conqueror, but in the licentious disguise of an enthusiast: still willing to imitate Bacchus, he was drawn by eight horses, on a scaffold in the form of a square stage, where he passed the days and nights in feasting. Along the roads where he passed, were placed casks of wine in great abundance, and these the soldiery

drained in honour of their mock deity. The whole country echoed with the sound of instruments and the howling of bacchanals, who, with their hair dishevelled, with frantic mirth ran up and down, abandoning themselves to every kind of lewdness. This vice produced one of a much more formidable nature in the king's mind; for it always inflamed his passions to cruelty, and the executioner generally crowned the feast.

While he refreshed his army in these parts, Nearchus was returned from his expedition along the coast, and brought him strange accounts of the gold to be found in some islands, and of the wonders that were to be seen in others; he was therefore commanded to make some further discoveries; and then enter the mouth of the river Euphrates, to meet the king at Babylon. He here also executed an act of rigorous justice upon Cleander and others, who had formerly been the ministers of his vengeance in cutting off Parmenio. Against these murderers great complaints had been made by the deputies of the provinces in which they had commanded; and such was the complexion of their crimes, that nothing but the certain expectation of Alexander's never returning from India could encourage them to commit such. All men were glad to see them delivered over to justice. Cleander, with six hundred soldiers, whom he had employed, were publicly executed; every one rejoicing that the anger of the king was at

last turned against the ministers of his vengeance. As Alexander drew nearer to Babylon, he visited the tomb of Cyrus, in the city of Pasargada; and here he put a Persian prince, whose name was Orsines, to death, at the instigation of Bagoas, an eunuch, who falsely accused Orsines of robbing the tomb. Here also, Calanus, the Indian, having lived fourscore and three years, without ever having been afflicted with sickness, now feeling the approaches of disorder, resolved to put himself to death. Alexander imagined he might easily be dissuaded from his design; but finding, in opposition to all the arguments he could use, that Calanus was inflexible, he gave orders for erecting a funeral pile for him, upon which the Indian was resolved to die.

Calanus rode on horseback to the foot of the funeral pile; offered up his prayers to the gods; caused libations to be performed, and the rest of the ceremonies to be observed which are practised at funerals; cut off a tuft of his hair, in imitation of victims; embraced such of his friends as were present; intreated them to be merry that day, and to feast and carouse with Alexander; assuring them at the same time, that he would soon see that prince in Babylon. After saying these words, he ascended with the utmost cheerfulness, the funeral pile, laid himself down upon it, and covered his face; and, when the flame reached him, he did not make the least motion; but, with a patience and con-



stancy that surprized the whole army, continued in the same posture in which he at first had laid himself, and completed his sacrifice, by dying agreeably to the strange superstitions of the enthusiasts of his country. Alexander punctually obeyed him in his admonitions to debauchery. A banquet followed the night after, in which Promachus received a talent as a prize, for having drank the largest quantity of wine : he survived his victory, however, but three days ; and of the rest of the guests, forty-one died of their intemperance. From Pasargada Alexander proceeded to Susa, where he married Statira, the eldest daughter of Darius, and gave her youngest sister in marriage to his favourite Hephæstion. Fourscore Persian ladies of rank were given to the principal favourites among his captains. The nuptials were solemnized after the Persian manner. He likewise feasted all the Macedonians who had married before in that country. It is related, that there were nine thousand guests at this feast, and that he gave each of them a golden cup for their libations. Upon this occasion there appeared at Susa three hundred young soldiers, dressed in the Macedonian manner, whom Alexander intended particularly to favour, in order to check the unruliness of his veterans, who had but too just reason to murmur.

While Alexander was thus employed in Persia, a new commotion was carrying on in Greece. Harpalus, whom Alexander had ap-

pointed governor of Babylon, being disgusted with his master's cruelty, and ambitious of power himself, went over into Greece with immense sums, which he raised from the plundered prisoners of Persia. He had credit enough to assemble a body of six thousand soldiers, and with these he landed at Athens: money, at that time, being thought all-powerful in Greece, he lavished immense sums among the mercenary orators, whose business it was to inflame the minds of the people. Of all these, Phocion alone, to whom he offered seven hundred talents, preserved his well-known integrity, and remained inflexible: his disinterestedness had long been an object of admiration, even in the time of Philip. Being offered a great sum of money, if not for his own acceptance, at least for the benefit of his children:—"If my children," cried Phocion, "resemble me, the little spot of ground, with the produce of which I have hitherto lived, and which has raised me to the glory you mention, will be sufficient to maintain them; if it will not, I do not intend to leave them wealth, merely to stimulate and heighten their luxury." Alexander having likewise sent him an hundred talents, Phocion asked those who brought them, why Alexander sent him so great a sum, and did not remit any to the rest of the Athenians? "It is," replied they, "because Alexander looks upon you as the only just and virtuous man." Phocion replied,

“ Let him suffer me still to enjoy that character, and be really what I am taken for.” This, therefore, was not a character to be corrupted; on the contrary, he used all his influence to prevent the success of Harpalus, who being ordered by the assembly to depart the city, lost all hopes of success.

This commotion was scarcely quelled when another ensued, in consequence of a declaration, by which all the Macedonians, who from their age or infirmities were unable to bear the fatigues of war, should be sent back to Greece. They with seditious cries unanimously demanded to be entirely discharged from his service, murmuring against him as a despiser of his bravest troops, and as a cruel king, who wanted not their absence, but their destruction. Alexander, however, acted with that resolution upon this occasion, which always marked his character. Being seated on his tribunal of justice, he rushed among the principal mutineers, seized thirteen, and ordered them to be immediately punished. The soldiers, amazed at his intrepidity, withheld their complaints, and with down-cast eyes seemed to beg for mercy.—“ You desired a discharge,” cried he: “ go then, and publish to the world that you have left your prince to the mercy of strangers; from henceforth the Persians shall be my guards.” This menace served only to increase the misery and the consternation of his troops;

they attended him with tears and lamentations; till at last, softened by their penitence, he once more took them into favour and affection.

Now, secure from insurrection, he gave himself up to mirth and feasting; his army was followed by all the ministers of pleasure; he spent whole nights and days in immoderate drinking, and in one of those excesses Hephæstion lost his life. This courtier was the most intimate friend of Alexander. Craterus alone, of all the Macedonians, seemed to dispute this honour with him. Craterus, as the king used to say, loves the king, but Hephæstion loves Alexander. The death of this favourite threw the monarch into excessive sorrow; he seemed to receive no consolation; he even put to death the physician who attended him; and the extraordinary funeral honour celebrated at his arrival in Babylon, marked the greatness of his affliction.

After various combats, conquests, cruelties, follies, and excesses, Alexander arrived at Babylon. On his approach to the city many sinister omens were observed; on which account the Chaldeans, who pretended to foresee future events, attempted to persuade him not to enter that city. The Greek philosophers, on the other hand displayed the futility of their predictions. Babylon was a theatre for him to display his glory on; and ambassadors, from all the nations he had conquered, were there in readi-



ness to celebrate his triumphs. After making a most magnificent entry, he gave audience to the ambassador, with a grandeur and dignity suitable to his power, yet with the affability and politeness of a private courtier.

At that time he wrote a letter, which was to have been read publicly in the assembly at the Olympic games, whereby the several cities of Greece were commanded to permit all exiles to return into their native country, those excepted who had committed sacrilege, or any other crime deserving death; ordering Antipater to employ an armed force against such cities as should refuse to obey. This letter was read in the assembly; but the Athenians and Ætolians did not think themselves obliged to put orders in execution which seemed to interfere with their liberty.

Finding Babylon, in extent and conveniency, superior to all the other cities in the East, he resolved to make it the seat of his empire; and for that purpose was desirous of adding to it all the ornaments possible. Though he was much employed in projects of this kind, and in schemes even beyond human power to execute, he spent the greatest part of his time in such pleasures as this magnificent city afforded. But his pleasures often terminated in licentiousness and riot. The recent loss of Hephæstion; the sad remembrance which he still had of the

iniquitous death of the virtuous Callisthenes, and of the gallant Clitus; but above all, of the barbarities exercised on Parmenio, and his innocent son; the idea of these shocking events festering his mind, had cast a thick gloom over his spirits; to dissipate which required the application of some very powerful remedy. The remedy to which he had recourse was, *intemperance*. He was, of course, often invited to banquets, at which he drank immoderately. On a particular occasion, having spent the whole night in a debauch, a second was proposed: he accepted the invitation, and drank to such excess, that he fell upon the floor, to appearance dead; and in this lifeless manner was carried, a sad spectacle of debauchery, to his palace. The fever continued, with some intervals, in which he gave the necessary orders for the sailing of the fleet, and the marching of his land forces, being persuaded he should soon recover. But at last, finding himself past all hopes, and his voice beginning to fail, he gave his ring to Perdiccas with orders to convey his corpse to the temple of Ammon. He struggled, however, with death for some time; and raising himself upon his elbow, he gave his hand to the soldiers, who pressed to kiss it: being then asked “to whom he would leave his empire,” he answered, —“To the most worthy.” Perdiccas enquiring at what time he should pay him divine honours,

he replied,—“ When you are happy.” With these words he expired, being thirty-two years and eight months old, of which he had reigned twelve, with more fortune than virtue.

By the death of this illustrious conqueror, were fulfilled many of the prophecies of the sacred writers. One of them is singularly striking: “ The temple of Belus shall be broken down unto the ground, never to rise from its ruins.” That the word of God might stand firm, Alexander is cut off, at the very instant he is preparing to rebuild that temple, and to restore Babylon to its wonted splendor. Alexander left one son; he was named Hercules, and was born of Barsine, the daughter of Artabasus, and widow of Memnon. Both Roxana, and Statira, are said to have been left pregnant.

In whatever light we view this monarch, we shall find little to admire, and less to imitate. That courage for which he was celebrated, is but a subordinate virtue; that fortune which still attended him, was but an accidental advantage; that discipline which prevailed in his army, was produced and cultivated by his father; but his intemperance, his cruelty, his vanity, his passion for useless conquests, were all his own. His victories, however, served to crown the pyramid of Grecian glory; they served to shew, to what a degree the arts of peace can promote those of war. In this picture we view a combination of petty states, by the arts of refinement, growing

more than a match for the rest of the world united; and leaving mankind an example of the superiority of intellect over brutal force.

The successors of Alexander seized upon particular parts of his extensive empire; and what he gained with much fatigue and danger, became a prey to men who sheltered their ambition under the sanction and glory of his name. They had been taught by him a lesson of pride; and as he would never suffer an equal, his numerous successors could not think of admitting a superior. They continued their disputes for dominion, until in some measure they destroyed each other; and as no governments were ever worse conducted than theirs, so few periods of history were ever left in greater darkness, doubt, and confusion.



## CHAP. XV.

TRANSACTIONS IN GREECE, FROM THE DESTRUCTION  
OF THEBES TO THE DEATH OF ANTIPATER.

WHEN a general convention of the states declared a Macedonian king captain-general of their forces against the barbarians, they proclaimed to the world that Greece had ceased to act a primary part, and fallen from the rank she had held among the nations. The distractions which followed the death of Alexander, afforded an opportunity of reclaiming her dignity ; and this opportunity, indeed, she neither overlooked nor neglected. But the same causes which subjected the degenerate Greeks to a foreign power, rendered all their efforts to recover their liberty ineffectual. It was not the policy of Philip, or the vigour of Alexander, that subdued the Grecian states, though these contributed to precipitate their fall : it was a relaxation of manners that ruined Greece ; it was the insolence of prosperity, which, by provoking internal jealousy and discord, invited the ambition of neighbouring and powerful states and princes. These causes continued to operate with increasing force, and humbled the Grecians under whatever power preponderated in the countries

with which they were surrounded. The Macedonian was only exchanged for the Roman yoke; and the Roman for that of different tribes of barbarians; until at last, about the middle of the fifteenth\* century, they found a melancholy repose in the stability of the Ottoman empire.

The Grecian states, during this long period, being under the influence of foreign councils, and the controul of foreign arms, had lost their existence as a nation. But neither did they submit to slavery without a struggle, nor did the power which subverted their government deface, at once, their national character, or destroy, but by degrees, the various effects which flowed from their original genius and political institutions. It is proposed, in what follows, to trace, amidst the revolutions of nations, the remains of Greece; to take a summary view of her efforts for the recovery of expiring liberty; to trace those features that remained the longest unsullied by the infection of barbarism; and those efforts of genius, which, surviving the dissolution of the state, continued, and still continue, to enlighten and refine the world.

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\* *From the accession of Alexander to the throne of Macedon, to the sacking of Constantinople in 1445; a space upwards of 1500 years.*

The severe punishment inflicted by Alexander on the city of Thebes, the vigilance and vigour of Antipater, to whom he had committed the charge of his affairs in Europe, with the progress of the Macedonian arms in Asia, alarmed and over-awed the nations of Greece, at the same time that Macedonian and Persian gold corrupted their morals, and divided and confounded their councils. But, even in this situation of affairs, Sparta dared to stand forth singly the assertor of ancient liberty. Being guarded, in some measure, by her political constitution, against the arts of corruption, she resisted the seducements of the Macedonian emissaries, and exhibited a noble example of patriotism to the other states of Greece. Her throne was adorned by an active, brave, and intrepid king, Agis, the son of Archidamus, and grandson of the renowned Agesilaus. It was he who infused into the Spartan deputies that spirit of opposition which they shewed to the measures of Alexander, in the general convention of the states; by which he at once reprobated the Greeks for their abject submission, and signified to their usurper, that some sparks of independence were still left in Greece. He had shown himself worthy of the honours of royalty, long before he was invested with them, by his spirited conduct at the court of Philip of Macedon. Having been sent thither in the quality of ambassador, that proud monarch, who

had been used to receive a number of ambassadors from the other Grecian states, said, with an air of contempt, "What! from Sparta but "one?" "Why," replied Agis, "I was sent "but to one." When, on another occasion, one of the creatures of that prince told him, that "Philip would not allow him to set a foot "in any other part of Greece." "Well," said he, "it is lucky that we have a good deal of "room at home."

In the beginning of Alexander's reign, Agis did not think it prudent to oppose him by his arms, well knowing, that the superior number of the Macedonian troops, and the high spirits with which several successful campaigns had inspired them, had rendered any attempt of that kind extremely hazardous. But he thwarted his measures as much as he could by his counsels; and was fully determined to embrace the very first occasion of vindicating the rights of his country. After the battle of Issus, a great many mercenaries fled out of Persia; of these he enlisted into the service of Sparta upwards of eight thousand, and immediately declared for the Persian king. He established a regular correspondence with that monarch, by which he was informed of Alexander's various movements and successes. He received money from Persia, to enable him to prosecute his designs; and having formed a powerful confederacy in Peloponnesus, resolved to lose no time in commencing



hostilities. It must be remarked here, that Cleomenes, the other Spartan king, took no share in these transactions. His advanced age admitted not of vigorous exertions, and he was contented to see the military operations of the state directed by his colleague, in whose abilities he placed entire confidence. When Agis, therefore, had made the necessary preparations, he sailed over to Crete, where he excited an insurrection, and established the power and the government of the Spartans. Having returned from that expedition, he again renewed his endeavours to promote disaffection among the Grecian states. His applications to them were now more open, and they were also more successful. The news of the defeat of Darius at Arbela, had just been received in Greece, and the minds of all men were alarmed by the rapidity of Alexander's conquests. A more seasonable opportunity could not have offered itself, for Agis to promote his designs. He forthwith set himself to convince his countrymen of the great dangers that threatened them: he shewed them, that the effects of Alexander's victories would be the subjugation of all the east; and the natural consequence of that subjugation, the return of the victor to load them with chains: a state of degradation, in his opinion, more humiliating, and more disgraceful, than the vilest condition of Persian slaves. The Greeks felt the weight of his remonstrances,

and were ready to second his intentions. An army of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, was levied, with which force Agis took the field, and marched against Megalopolis, the only city in Peloponnesus that had acknowledged Alexander for its sovereign. Antipater was, at that time, employed in quashing a rebellion which had taken place in Thrace; but, on hearing of the operations of the Peloponnesians, he adjusted matters in Thrace, in the best way that circumstances would allow, and drew off his troops to combat a more dangerous foe. His army consisted of forty thousand men. Great, however, as his superiority was, Agis did not seek to avoid an engagement: so that a general action soon ensued, in which the Spartans and their allies were routed. The loss on each side was three thousand five hundred men. Agis himself fell, but he fell gloriously. Having been distinguished by his exertions during the battle, and having received a number of wounds, when the rout became general, his soldiers, who were bearing him on their shoulders, were likely to be surrounded: on seeing which, he commanded them to set him down, and to preserve themselves by flight, for the future services of their country. His soldiers obeyed; he was left alone, and on his knees he fought and killed several of the Macedonians, whom he continued to engage till he was run through the body with a dart. Thus fell Agis, one of the most virtuous and valiant

men that his country had ever produced. He had reigned nine years.

Had the bold schemes of Agis succeeded, all Greece would have probably revolted. Not only would the different states have endeavoured to protect their own rights and privileges, but they would have carried, in their turn, the arms of Greece into Macedon. Alexander's hereditary dominions would have been endangered, and all his plans of foreign conquest overthrown. It is to be regretted that Agis was so precipitate in taking up arms against Macedon. Had he proceeded more deliberately and circumspectly; had he either waited till he should have increased his army at home, or obtained succour from Persia, his countrymen, animated by their flattering situation, and roused by the recollection of the glorious deeds of their ancestors, might not only have checked the growing power of Macedon, but prolonged the reputation and consequence of Greece.

The subsequent reigns of the Spartan kings were so unimportant and so obscure, that there is hardly any thing known of them but their names, and those of a few of the leading men. Eudemidas, the son of Agis, ascended the throne upon the death of his father. He was more virtuous and wise than any of his successors; and, fortunately for mankind, his excellent qualities were all of the gentle and moderate kind. They were such as led him to inculcate



on the minds of his subjects, that the blessings of peace, even in a state of degradation, are superior far to those precarious, fleeting honours, which princes often purchased at the expence of the wealth and blood of their subjects.

The Lacedæmonians were so incensed by the loss of Agis, whom they all revered and loved, and they resolved to prosecute the war at all events. There were, however, in Sparta, a few who opposed this resolution ; and of that number was Eudemidas. A saying of his on that occasion, is worthy of being remembered. “ Why, sir,” said a certain citizen to him, “ do you “ alone advise the continuance of peace, when “ all your subjects are for war ?” “ Because,” answered the king, “ I wish to convince them, “ that what they want would be injurious to “ them.” When another of his subjects was magnifying, in his presence, the victories which their ancestors had won from the Persians, and was from thence, drawing arguments in favour of renewing hostilities against Macedon, “ You “ perhaps think,” said Eudemidas, “ that it is “ the same thing to make war against a thou- “ sand sheep, as against fifty wolves.” Having, one day, gone by accident into the school of Xenocrates the philosopher, and observed that he was very old, he asked one of those who stood next to him, what was the old man’s profession. Upon being answered, “ that he was a wise man who sought after virtue,” “ Alas,” said



he, "is he seeking it at these years! when then will he make use of it?" And when, as we shall see afterwards, Alexander caused the return of all the exiles that belonged to Greece, those of Thebes excepted, to be proclaimed at the Olympic games; "'Tis a hard case, O ye "Thebans," said Eudemidas, "but at the same "time very honourable; for it is evident, that "of all the Greeks, Alexander fears you only."

Antipater having succeeded to his wish in crushing the insurrection in Peloponnesus, and having cut off Agis, who was the chief spring of that insurrection, he resolved to render Alexander's power in Greece still more complete, and his authority more indisputable. The most formidable enemy which Macedon had ever known in that country, was Demosthenes; the effects of whose eloquence had been felt both by Philip and his son. On Demosthenes, therefore, Antipater determined to wreak his vengeance: and a fit occasion for doing so soon offered. Harpalus, one of Alexander's captains, having incurred the displeasure of his master, fled for protection to Athens. During the time that he had commanded in Asia, he had amassed an enormous quantity of treasure, with which he hoped to gain the degenerate Athenians over to his desperate cause. His expectations were not altogether vain. Many of the chief orators, allured by the golden prospects which were set before them, tendered their services, and gave

him reason to think that they could ensure him of safety. Two of the orators, however, were still uncorrupted; these were Phocion and Demosthenes. Phocion is said to have withstood every solicitation, and to have rejected every offer which Harpalus could make with disdain. Demosthenes's virtue is said to have been equally inflexible for a while; so high, indeed, did his indignation rise, when he first beheld Harpalus, distributing his bribes among the people, that he stood up and made a warm oration against him, treating him no otherwise than as a villain, who had robbed his master, and who was come to Athens to involve the nation in a fresh war with Alexander. But he soon changed his tone; for when Harpalus was landing his treasures, a golden cup, of immense value and beautiful workmanship, is said to have caught his eye. Harpalus observing that he looked at it with more than ordinary earnestness, begged of him to take it up, and poise it in his hand. When he had done so, he asked Harpalus what might be the value of it. "To you, sir," replied Harpalus, "it shall bring twenty talents:" and that very evening it is said to have been sent, with twenty talents, to the orator's house. Demosthenes was, next day, to have delivered his opinion respecting the propriety of granting protection to a Macedonian culprit. But when he was called upon, he showed his throat bound round with several rollers, on account of a bad

cold which he had caught. A wit was said to have observed, on that occasion, that "the orator had got a golden quinsey." In a very short time, a rumour went abroad that Alexander had heard that the Athenians had suffered Harpalus to take refuge in their city, and that he was so incensed, that he was just about to dispatch a formidable fleet, to punish them for their treachery. This rumour inspired the greatest consternation, and Harpalus was immediately expelled from the city. An enquiry was now set on foot, respecting those persons who had accepted of presents from Harpalus. This was the instrument by which Antipater was to destroy Demosthenes. He, with several others, was impeached: a prosecution commenced before the court of the Areopagus, which finding him guilty of receiving gold from Harpalus, he was fined in fifty talents. Being unable to pay so large a sum, he was forced to go into banishment.

This change in the condition of Demosthenes, has given rise to a variety of opinions respecting the cause of it. The most reasonable, as also the most probable one is, that it was the effect of the malice of his rival orators, added to the terror which the threat of Antipater had occasioned in the Areopagus. Demosthenes is fully exculpated both by Plutarch and Pausanias. Plutarch assures us, that that orator was the very first person who proposed that those who had been suspected of receiving bribes, should be brought

to trial in the court of the Areopagus; and had he been guilty, says the historian, it is not likely that he would have been so forward in the affair. Pausanias again informs us, that Harpalus having fled to the island of Crete, was there slain by his own servants; that his chief servant, who was likewise his confidant, falling into the hands of Philoxenus, was by him put to the torture, that he might thereby be compelled to discover which of the Athenians had accepted of Harpalus's gold. From his confession it appeared that Demosthenes was innocent. Philoxenus, who was an officer in Alexander's service, and an avowed enemy to Demosthenes, has confirmed this fact.

Antipater's deep policy in promoting the above charge against Demosthenes, has very justly been admired. He thereby freed Macedonia of the greatest obstacle to her ambition, and prepared the minds of the Athenians for a chearful acquiescence in the measures of the friends of Alexander, by convincing them, that he who had made the strongest professions of patriotism and zeal for the prosperity of Greece, had, all the while, been aiming only at his own personal aggrandizement.

With the loss of Agis, Sparta was disarmed; and with Demosthenes fled the very life and soul of the foreign operations of the Athenians. One would think that these events, so fatal to Greece, would have tended to stay the unac-



countable resentment of Alexander; but they had no such effect. There still remained an act by which he might oppress that once flourishing nation; and that act he was resolved to see accomplished. The violence of political contests, and of unsuccessful expeditions against foreign enemies, had filled all the cities of Greece with exiles. Their number, at the period of which we are now speaking, is said to have amounted to upwards of twenty thousand. Alexander, who never hesitated at any thing that could either promote his ambition, or confirm his power, foresaw advantages that were likely to arise from a judicious management of these unhappy men. It occurred to him, that if he should be the means of restoring to them their former rights and immunities, they would, from a principal of gratitude, attach themselves to his interest. Greece, he thought, by the accomplishment of his scheme, might be brought to a total submission to the dominion of the Macedonian monarchs: for it would naturally produce convulsions in the states, by the manifold transfers of power and property which would attend it: whence a very favourable conjuncture would be afforded for him to step in, and extinguish those sparks of freedom, which appeared so irreconcilable with his general system of government. Proclamation was accordingly made, in the name of the Macedonian monarch, at the Olympic games, "That all the

“ exiles (those only who had been guilty of  
“ atrocious crimes) should be forthwith re-  
“ stored to their respective cities: and that  
“ those cities which should refuse to admit  
“ them, should be forced to compliance by dint  
“ of arms.”

So unprecedented, so insolent a command, could not fail to rouse the indignation of a people who enjoyed the name, at least, of being free. It constrained them to reflect on the glory which their ancestors had enjoyed in the happier times of Themistocles and of Cimon, and to compare that glory with the disgrace which overwhelmed them now. Sunk, as they were, in effeminacy and idleness, they nevertheless entertained in their minds ideas of independence, which a retrospect to the virtues of their forefathers inflamed and heightened. They had boldly ridiculed the idea of Alexander's pretensions to divinity. The Athenians had taken courage to fine one of their citizens for talking of having Alexander enrolled with the gods of their country: and they had passed sentence of death on another, who being on an embassy to Alexander, had been so mean as to pay him divine honours. These were, indeed, but small exertions: such, however, as they were, they served to show that Greece was not yet fully prepared to stoop to a tyrant. But all the former instances of Alexander's usurpations were outdone by that, which was to compel them to

receive into their society men whose crimes had justly separated them from their former connections. That act was aiming a deadly blow at their civil and municipal privileges, and was the grossest insult that any tyrant could have devised. But Greece did not submit to it. The Athenians seemed to feel the indignity with superior poignancy; nor were they at any pains to stifle their resentment. They dispatched ambassadors to all the neighbouring states for the purpose of promoting an insurrection; with many of which they were very successful. The Ætolians, mindful of some proud, reproachful terms, which Alexander had used, espoused the general cause with particular zeal.

Such was the aspect of affairs when the news of Alexander's death reached Greece: news which added fresh spirits and vigour to all the operations of the insurgents. Those who had not already revolted, now ran to arms, drove out the Macedonians who were residing among them, and hastened to put themselves under the command of Leosthenes, the Athenian, who had already collected a very considerable army.

It was now that Demosthenes was recalled from banishment. His love for his country, though forced by its decrees to part with those to whom he was peculiarly attached, had remained undiminished. He had accompanied the Athenian ambassadors in their progress

through Peloponnesus, and, by the powers of his elocution, had gained many friends to the cause which they sought to maintain. He was deservedly extolled for his opposition to Pytheas, an abettor of the Macedonian cause, who strove to sow dissention among the inhabitants of Arcadia. "The Athenians," said Pytheas, "may be likened unto ass's milk, which is a certain indication of sickness being in any house into which it is brought; for when they appear in any city, we may, with certainty, pronounce that city to be distempered." — "True," answered Demosthenes, "but as ass's milk is a restorative of health, so are Athenian counsels of distempered states." It was in consideration of such services as these, that Demosthenes was invited to participate again in the pleasures of his native country. The invitation was accompanied with very flattering marks of respect. A galley was dispatched to Ægina, where he was residing, to convey him to Athens. As he approached the city, the citizens of every rank and sex went out to meet him, and to congratulate him on his safe return. By the laws of his country, the fine which had been imposed on him could not be remitted. His fellow citizens, therefore, being solicitous that he should lie under no sort of restraint, nominated him to the office of preparing the temple of Jupiter Conservator, against the feast of that deity, with an appointment of fifty talents,



the nett amount of his fine. This being paid, Demosthenes began afresh to harangue in favour of Athenian liberty.

Leosthenes had now got together a very powerful army, with which he marched against Antipater. As soon as that general received intelligence of the approach of Leosthenes, being aware of the inferiority of his troops to those of the Athenian, he sent off a courier to Craterus, then acting in Cilicia, to request a supply. In the mean time, he marched his troops into Thessaly, where he was joined by a large body of cavalry. But the Thessalians, when they saw the confederated Greeks advancing, and perceiving how greatly superior their army was in numbers to that of the Macedonians, immediately deserted to them. Antipater, however, was not discouraged: he ventured to engage the enemy; but, being routed, he was forced to betake himself to flight. He led off his men in good order; and having arrived at Lamia, a city in Thessaly, he caused the place to be fortified, and with eight or nine thousand foot prepared to make a desperate defence. The Athenians advanced, and attacked the city: but finding it too well fortified to be easily taken by storm, they set themselves down before it, in hopes of carrying it by a regular siege. These dawnings of success had greatly elated the minds of the Athenians. They had once more seen their invaders constrained to retire within

their native limits. Their countrymen seemed to act with unusual unanimity and energy ; and they thought they had now reason to look for a return of their ancient greatness. But Phocion's ideas were different ; he made it his business to expose their infatuation, and to check their misguided ardour ; well knowing that they possessed neither sufficient constancy nor vigour to carry on a successful war with the Macedonians. " What do you think," said one of his leaders to him, " will be the most proper time for going to war?" " When the young men," replied he, " keep within the bounds of regularity ; when the rich are liberal in their donations ; and the orators cease to rob the state." During these commotions there is not a word said of Demosthenes. Perhaps Phocion, with whom he then lived on terms of intimacy and friendship, had convinced him by conversation, which he never could do by public speaking, that every idea of opposition to Macedon was now become vain and extravagant.

Difficulties, and long habits of military experience, had made Antipater fruitful of resources. Though every day attacked by fresh troops, he maintained his situation, and seemed not to abate either in spirit or strength. Making at last, a sudden sally upon the workmen, he threw them into great disorder ; and Leosthenes, who hastened to their assistance, was unfortunately killed with a stone. This incident greatly

discouraged the Athenians. They did not, however, relinquish their system of conquest: they chose Antiphilus their general and pursued Antipater, who had, by his spirited sally, escaped from Lamia. Shortly after that event, they fell in with the Macedonians, under Leonatus, and completely routed them: but such repeated successes were their ruin. Overjoyed with the victories which they had gained, and filled with contempt at the feeble resistance made by the Macedonians, many of them returned home, to boast of the triumph of their arms, and to congratulate their friends on the return of ancient freedom. The period of their rejoicing was short. Antipater having received a strong reinforcement from Cilicia, under the command of Craterus, advanced towards Cranon, a city in Thessaly, where he engaged and quite discomfited the enemy, who were led on by Antiphilus and Memnon. Though the confederates lost only five hundred men in this battle, yet their spirits were so broken by it, that they immediately sued for a peace. To grant a *general* peace was not Antipater's design; he wished to see the Athenians more thoroughly humbled. He therefore acquainted the vanquished, that he was ready to enter upon separate treaties with them, and to hear what were their demands. This proposition the Grecians rejected with scorn; but finding that several cities belonging to their allies in Thessaly, fell daily before the enemy,

they were glad to accept of any terms. In a short time, therefore, Antipater had granted to every state, and to every city, except Athens, whatever they demanded. In this distressful situation, Phocion, with some other orators, was delegated by the Athenians, to sue for peace from Antipater, who was then encamped at Cadmæa. Phocion entreated that the terms might be adjusted there; but Craterus insisted upon marching the Macedonians into Attica, and opening the treaty at the gates of Athens; alleging, "That it was unreasonable to burden their friends with an army, while they were treating with an enemy." Antipater acknowledged the justice of what he said; "but yet," subjoined he, "let us grant this single favour to Phocion." The favour was granted, and a peace was concluded; but the terms of it were equally subversive of Athenian honour and power. Demosthenes and Hyperides were to be delivered up; a distinction, which they no doubt owed to their superior zeal in the service of their country. The democracy was to be abolished; the ancient mode of raising taxes restored; the obnoxious were to forfeit their municipal rights; Athens was to receive a Macedonian garrison, and to defray the expences of the war. Phocion, who may be supposed to have had more influence with Antipater than any other Athenian, on account of his pacific disposition, was not, with the utmost exertions of his eloquence,



able to preserve his native city from the ignominy of being garrisoned by Macedonian soldiers. He used every argument which could be dictated, either by his fear of shame, or his regard for his country's honour; but he could not prevail; determined on oppression, the victor remained unmoved. Menyllus, a man of an amiable temper of mind, and a friend of Phocion's was sent to Athens to command the new garrison. Upwards of twelve thousand Athenians were disfranchised. Many of these found their condition so insupportable, that they were obliged to go into Thrace, and to settle there as Macedonian colonists.

Upon the arrival of the messenger who brought the first accounts of that disgraceful treaty, Demosthenes fled to Calauria, a small island opposite to Trœzene. He was conscious of having rendered too essential services to his country to have any hopes that Antipater would shew him mercy. Soon after his departure, Archias, a player, was sent to find him out. Being informed that he had taken refuge in the temple of Neptune, which had been raised in that island, thither Archias bent his course. He found the patriot orator sitting, more collected and composed than his natural timidity gave reason to expect that he would be. He tried to persuade him to return home; assuring him that Antipater would treat him humanely. Demosthenes, who knew better than Archias did what

were the dispositions of Antipater, said—"O, Archias, I never was much moved with you as a player; and now I am as little moved with you as a negociator." When Archias began to press him hard, he begged leave to withdraw a little farther into the temple, in order to write a few lines to his family. When he had got to the place where he was to write, he put a poisoned quill into his mouth, and chewed it, as he usually did other quills, when he was very thoughtful. The poison beginning to operate, he turned towards the tragedian, and said, "Now, Sir, you may act the part of Creon, in the tragedy, as soon as you please, and cast out this body of mine unburied." He desired to be supported to the door of the temple, being unwilling to pollute it by his death; but as he passed by the altar, he expired.

Some historians have been at pains to refute this account of the death of Demosthenes; alleging, that he died of grief and a broken constitution; but their account of the event is neither so probable, nor so well attested, as that which has now been given.

The Athenian citizens, who had not forfeited the favour and protection of Antipater, enjoyed a degree of tranquillity and affluence, which had been for a long time unknown. For many years they had been torn to pieces by the dissensions which invariably attend a democracy. This form of government Antipater had abolished: he had

put them nearly upon the same footing on which they stood in those virtuous days, in which they had prospered by the wise institutions of Solon. Most of the other states derived advantages of a similar kind ; and though they were at first much dissatisfied, on account of the infringements which they imagined he had made on their freedom, yet they soon found that they were, in reality, become a more free people than they had hitherto been. They acknowledged their obligations to Antipater, and honoured him with the title of, The father and protector of Greece.

Antipater, having revisited Macedon, was celebrating the nuptials of his daughter Philla, whom he had bestowed on Craterus, when he was informed that the Ætolians had taken the field with a large army. The Ætolians were the only people in Greece who complained of the terms granted them by the governor of Macedon ; and they were resolved, either to extort more favourable conditions, or to lose their all in the field of battle. Antipater, and his young son-in-law, marched directly into Ætolia ; and after encountering several difficulties, had the good fortune to see the enemy routed. These operations happened in the winter season. In the spring Antipater prepared to besiege the cities of Ætolia which had not surrendered : but before he had been able to effect any thing that was great, he was informed, by Antigonus, that Perdikkas had been paving the way to a re-

volt in the East. The chief arguments which Antigonus used to influence Antipater's mind, were, that Perdiccas had slighted Nicæa (the daughter of Antipater), and put to death Cynane, the sister of Alexander. This information declared the necessity which there was for his immediate presence in Asia. He was, therefore, obliged to enter into a treaty with the Ætolians; which ending in a peace, he was left at leisure to look after his concerns in the East.

While Antipater and Craterus were rectifying disorders beyond the Hellespont, the Ætolians entered into a resolution of avenging themselves of the injuries which they had sustained during the preceding winter. They therefore entered the territories of Macedon with a formidable armament, and were committing dreadful depredations, when their career was interrupted by Polycles, who commanded in that quarter for Antipater. The Ætolians found means to bring Polycles to a general action. His troops being greatly inferior to theirs, in point of numbers, were soon put to flight, and he himself slain. Before the victors had time to improve the advantages which they had gained, they received advice that the Acarnanians had already penetrated into the heart of their country, and were laying all waste by fire and sword. They therefore retreated with precipitation to Ætolia; leaving, however, their allies in Thessaly under the command of Menon. Polyperchon, who had



the command in Macedon, took the advantage of the division which had been made in the Ætolian army; and, marching directly into Thessaly, fell upon Menon before he was aware, and completely discomfited his troops. The Ætolians were so struck by the news of Menon's defeat, that they immediately laid down their arms. Thus was peace once more restored to Macedon.

We are now to take a view of the Athenians, before the total decay of their national consequence. We are to behold them, not demanding liberty with the noble confidence of an independent people, but imploring it with the servility of slaves. Peaceable and happy as their city had been, since its submission to Antipater, there was one circumstance in their lot which they could not brook with patience: that was, their being protected by a Macedonian garrison. The dignity and the glory of their ancestors recurred to their minds, and prompted them to wish for the semblance at least of Freedom. The first effects of this disposition were manifested by their application to Phocion, whose influence with Antipater they knew to be great, to repair to that general, who was just returned from Asia, and to pray him to remove the Macedonian garrison. But Phocion, well knowing that it was then too late a period of their national existence, for them to be able to guard themselves, bluntly declined the com-

mission. He interceded, however, with the king for the return of the Athenian exiles, and had them all restored to their homes and ancient privileges.

The recal of the garrison by Antipater, was an object of too much moment to be easily abandoned. On the refusal, therefore, of Phocion, they turned their eyes towards Demades, the orator, who was likewise a favourite with Antipater. Having less magnanimity and patriotism, but much more vanity and self-conceit, than Phocion, this man undertook the embassy. It was this same Demades who reproved Philip's indecent exultation after the battle of Chæronea; it was he who drew up the sentence of banishment against Demosthenes, when he fled to Calauria; and it was he who accompanied Phocion to Cadmæa, to treat with Antipater and Craterus, after the fatal battle of Cranon. He had long been a tool to Antipater: he wanted not for abilities or eloquence; but probity and disinterestedness were none of his virtues. Antipater often said that he had two friends at Athens: — Phocion, who never would accept of any reward for his services; and Demades, who never thought he had received enough. Whether Antipater had discontinued his largesses to Demades, or whether Demades expected to be more liberally rewarded by Perdiccas, we cannot say; but he had formed a correspondence with that commander, and had recommended to

him to come over, and assume the government of Macedon and Greece. A letter of his to Perdiccas was found, in which were these words; "Come and be the support of Macedon and Greece, which at present lean on an old rotten staff;" meaning Antipater. This discovery was made at the very time that he and his son were soliciting the recal of the garrison. Antipater straightway ordered the son of Demades to be slain, in his father's sight; and the moment that he had expired, sentence of death was pronounced on the father himself. Thus fell Demades, the orator; and with his life were extinguished all hopes of Athenian liberty.

The death of Antipater happened soon after that of the orator Demades, and a very short time after his return from his Asiatic expedition. The excessive fatigue which he had undergone in forcing the Greeks to submit to the power of Macedon, and in accommodating matters in Asia, had preyed greatly upon a constitution already impaired by age. Being faithful and zealous in the cause of his country, his mind enjoyed but little repose. As soon as he had arrived in Macedon, he employed himself in endeavouring to compose the differences subsisting among his countrymen, and to instruct them in the arts of peace. Anxiety of mind, co-operating with an enfeebled and declining habit of body, produced a violent disease, which soon left him but little room to hope for a recovery. Though

loaded with distress, he acted not unworthily either of the highness of his descent, or the excellence of his understanding. He was noble by birth, and had been educated in the school of Aristotle. He assembled his friends, and those of his country, and admonished and instructed them in the course of conduct which he wished them to pursue. To Polyperchon, the eldest of all Alexander's captains then in Europe, he bequeathed the two high offices of protector and governor of Macedon. His own son, Cassander, he made a chiliarch, or commander of a thousand men; an appointment of very great consideration in those days. He gave directions concerning the Athenian garrison, and recommended moderation and forbearance towards the Athenians. Thus did Antipater reconcile the minds of his countrymen to the loss which they were about to sustain, and lay the foundation of future concord and vigour in the government of Macedon. His career of glory was at an end:—full of years and honours, and surrounded and lamented by his friends, he died in a period of the most profound national tranquillity.



## CHAP. XVI.

TRANSACTIONS IN ASIA, FROM THE DEATH OF  
ALEXANDER, TO THE DEATH OF ANTIGONUS.

WHEN Alexander was asked, on his death-bed, To whom he desired to bequeath his empire, his answer was—"To the most worthy." These indefinite words must have been extremely soothing to the ambition of his superior officers. Men who had been accustomed to rule with absolute power, in distant, extensive, populous, and wealthy provinces, must have been highly pleased to find that their sovereign's will threw no bar in their way to dominion or power. They had all given proofs of their great military talents; and had, in return, been favoured with the approbation and friendship of the king; each, therefore, thought himself possessed of sufficient merit to be placed in that exalted station, which had been mentioned as the reward of *the most worthy*. There was one, however, who appeared to have an extraordinary claim to distinction: Perdiccas, to whom Alexander, in his last moments, had delivered his royal signet. Possessed of merit equal, at least to that of his competitors, this adventitious circumstance might seem to have given him a superior title to the vast object in question. But his rivals

were too proud to suffer an equal to be exalted above them, without throwing some embarrassment in his way ; and too fond of power to bestow a title to an empire without advancing their own pretensions. Accordingly, they all remonstrated, and opposed Perdiccas's elevation : and finding that they were not likely to succeed in their private schemes by acting interestedly, they resolved to overturn his, by acting justly, in supporting the claims of the lawful heirs to the crown. These were, Hercules, the son of Alexander, by Barsine the widow of Memnon ; and Aridæus, or, as he was afterwards called by the soldiery, Philip Aridæus, Alexander's only brother. There was little or no contest about Aridæus's right to a share in the sovereignty. He had been acknowledged to be *insane* ; and that circumstance, perhaps, more than his consanguinity to the king, procured him an easy admission to the throne. Hercules's right was not so readily recognized ; his mother was not of royal extraction : and as Alexander had always shewn a preference to Roxana and Statira, and had, moreover, omitted to mention Hercules in his last hours, his title was at once set aside. But the exclusive right to the throne was not to be granted to one person. It was, therefore, judged proper, by all the leading men, to divide the sovereignty between Aridæus and the child to be born of Roxana, should it prove a son. This appointment was easily ac-

ceded to ; as the government that was naturally to be expected from it, would leave full scope for the exercise of avarice and ambition.

This settlement being made, the various competitors of Macedonian empire retired to their respective employments. Perdiccas had always been much about the person of the king ; and having been reported to be at once a favourite and a friend to him, he found little difficulty in ingratiating himself with Aridæus and Roxana. Their countenance and favour were indispensably necessary to the execution of the deep plans which he had laid ; and he spared no pains, and refrained from no act of violence, which promised to procure them. He had at first strenuously, though secretly, opposed the election of Aridæus ; but finding that his influence, in the general council, was likely to be outweighed, he immediately saw the necessity of disguising his real sentiments. He therefore professed himself to be that prince's most zealous friend and supporter : and, in a little time, found himself possessed of all that he desired, but the empty name of royalty. He insinuated himself so completely into the weak prince's favour, that he soon contrived to have those, who had been most active in seating him on the throne, put to death : and in order to secure the affection of the army, he persuaded him to marry Eurydice, the grand-daughter of Philip, whose mother had lost her life through his instigation.

Philip still stood high in the good opinions of the soldiery ; and there could have been no measure adopted, that could bid so fair to ensure their warm and steady support, as an apparent inclination to continue the government of the empire in his family. He was also obliged to sacrifice to the passions of Roxana. By this time she had been delivered of a son, whom she named Alexander ; and as it was he who was to share the sovereignty with Aridæus, the friendship and interest of his mother became highly important. A woman's jealousy is ardent and implacable. Statira was great with child ; and lest a son should have appeared to dispute the throne with Alexander, Roxana and Perdiccas conspire for her death. She falls accordingly ; and in a very short time after, Parysatis, the sister of Statira, and widow of Hephæstion, suffers a like fate. Thus it was that Perdiccas endeavoured to conciliate the favour of Aridæus and Roxana. Macedon might be said to have had two kings ; but, in fact, she had but one ruler : for there was no act, either legislative or executive, that did not owe its origin to Perdiccas. One would think, that he might have been content with the respect and power that were now conferred on him ; but his views extended much farther than to the possession of temporary honour. He was determined to render the distinctions he had acquired as permanent as they were great and substantial ; and



for that purpose, it was requisite, that those men who were most likely to eclipse his glory, should be constrained to act on distant and separate theatres. This end was to be attained by a judicious distribution of the several governments and great offices of state. A council was holden, in which it was resolved, that the following arrangement should be made, in the name of the two kings. To Antipater and Craterus was assigned the government of the hereditary kingdom of Macedon, and of all Greece: the very same trust which Antipater alone had received from the hands of Alexander the Great. To Lysimachus fell Thrace and the Chersonese. Eumenes had Paphlagonia and Cappadocia. Ptolemy had Egypt, and Antigonus Phrygia the Greater, Lycia, and Pamphylia. Seleucus was appointed to command the royal cavalry; while Perdiccas contented himself with the title of captain of the household troops. Considering the influence which Perdiccas had in the state, this might have appeared to be but an humble appointment for him; but, though it wanted splendor, it conferred power; for it left him at full freedom to prosecute the purposes of his ambition, by placing him in the presence of the kings, at the head of a trusty and well disciplined body of soldiers; while his rivals were forced to seek their fortunes in distant quarters of the empire.

Had the electors of the kings been sincere in the professions of esteem and loyalty which

they made, when they affected to pay so great a deference to justice and right, the steps which Perdiccas had taken would, in all probability, have been the most effectual, of all others, for securing to himself the exclusive direction of the empire. But men who had great and powerful armies, ready to move at their nod, and who could command the treasures of wealthy nations, were not very likely to act disinterestedly on such an occasion. In truth, every one hoped to find an early opportunity of throwing off the mask; and until that opportunity should offer, they were willing to acknowledge the sovereignty of kings, whose incapacity to inspect the proceedings of their servants, would allow time for their schemes to ripen.

The flames of sedition at length broke forth; when there appeared to be three distinct, active, and aspiring factions in the empire. One was headed by Perdiccas, and supported by Eumenes; another was headed by Ptolemy, and supported by Antipater and Craterus; and the third, which ultimately proved the most formidable of all, was raised and maintained by Antigonus alone. This chief seems to have had the most daring and intrepid mind of all the captains of Macedon. None ventured to speak his sentiments so freely as he, at the election of the kings, and he was the first who presumed to remonstrate with Perdiccas, on the new arrangement that had been made in the state. But it

was Ptolemy who first disclaimed the power of the united Monarchs, and who prepared, in the face of the world, to act the part of an independent sovereign prince. Removed to so great a distance from the seat of empire, he could strengthen his army, and establish his government as he pleased, without interruption. Encouraged by these circumstances, he was hastening to render his possessions stable and secure, when Perdiccas judged it expedient, for the safety of the Macedonian interests, to march into Egypt with a powerful army. This commander crossed over into Asia; but, before he had nearly accomplished his march, he was informed that Antipater and Craterus were also in arms, and that they were pursuing the same route which he himself had taken. The preparations which Ptolemy had already made were too alarming to admit of delay. Perdiccas, therefore empowered or ordered Eumenes to watch the motions of Antipater and Craterus; while he, and the two kings, should direct their march towards Egypt. After undergoing considerable fatigue, he reached the Egyptian frontier. Hostilities were instantly commenced, and frequent and vigorous efforts were made by the royal troops, against the forces of Ptolemy, in vain. The soldiers, discouraged at length by their ill success, and disgusted with the haughty and overbearing deportment of their general, mutinied, and slew him.

During these transactions, the other parties were not inactive. Antipater's main object was to check the growing power of Perdiccas, who, under pretext of guarding the rights of the kings, appeared to be grasping at the supremacy for himself. He divided his army into two bodies ; the one he put under the command of Craterus, who was to make head against Eumenes ; and with the other he marched into Cilicia, that he might have it in his power to succour Ptolemy, in case the royal party should prevail.

Before he had time to learn any thing concerning the operations of the contending powers in Egypt, he had the mortification to hear of the death of Craterus. That general had fallen, and his army had been routed, chiefly through the artifices of Eumenes. Eumenes knowing how much his opponent was esteemed by the national troops, did not judge it safe to permit them to take a station in the field, from whence they might have an opportunity of discovering the favourite general, against whom they were to act. In drawing up his troops, therefore, he took care to oppose the foreigners that were in his army to the soldiers of Macedon ; and by that cautious management, not a single soldier in his army knew by whom the enemy were led on, till Craterus was found breathless on the field of battle.

By the death of Craterus, Phila, the only



daughter of Antipater, was left a widow. From a two-fold cause, therefore, Antipater must have been afflicted by the loss which he had sustained. But he was not doomed to mourn long : a palliative was very soon brought him ; and that was, the news of the death of Perdiccas. In consequence of that important event, Antipater was solicited to join the army in Syria, in order to make new arrangements for the government of the empire. He repaired thither with all convenient expedition ; and upon his arrival, was, by general consent, appointed protector of the kings.

This was a fatal blow to the interest of the friends of Perdiccas. Eurydice, who owed her present exaltation to the interposition of the late protector, set herself to disturb the quiet of his successor ; but she soon found his authority too great, to be affected by any exertion of her's. She therefore began to soften in her resentment ; and in a little time, she tendered him not only her support, but her confidence. Antipater thinking it requisite to revisit Macedon, lost no time in adjusting matters in Asia. He found Eumenes determined in his purpose of prosecuting the war against the enemies of Perdiccas, because he believed them to be the enemies of the true interests of Macedon. He therefore appointed Antigonus to continue hostilities with Eumenes, in the name of the kings. He gave his son Cassander the command of a

very considerable army; with secret injunctions to guard, with a jealous eye, the proceedings of Antigonus. Of that officer's valour and conduct, he entertained not a doubt; but he prudently thought, that he had too bold a genius to be constantly awed by the irresolute and tardy commands of a distracted and distant government. Matters being thus settled, he, together with the kings, set out for Macedon.

Antigonus now prepared to act with uncommon vigour against Eumenes. He had every incentive to dispatch; his temper was naturally suited to action; he was dissatisfied with the manner in which the great departments of the state were filled; he bore no good will to Eumenes, and he had the sanction of royal authority for taking the most effectual measures to crush him. A battle soon ensued, in which Eumenes was betrayed by one of his officers, and completely discomfited; but that discomfiture was productive of one of the chief glories of his life. Having rallied his men, he escaped the pursuit of his enemies, by striking into another road. He returned to the field of battle unperceived; burned the bodies of the slain, and covered their ashes with a large mound of earth: he then selected six hundred of his ablest soldiers, and with them returned to Nora, a castle bordering on Cappadocia. His ingenuity and his exertions, while in that fortress, have been very justly admired. The only provisions

which he had, were corn, salt, and water. On these he held out against the whole strength of Antigonus's army, for a complete year, and at length forced him to quit the siege.

A very important revolution had, by this time, taken place in Europe. Antipater had been cut off by a violent disease; and Polyperchon, whom he had appointed to succeed him in the high offices of governor-general of Macedon, and protector of the kings, had ascended the throne. This man was destitute of resolution, of wisdom, and of probity; a proficient in nothing but the mere forms of transacting business and in the ceremonies of a court. His country had, of course, reason to look for ostentation and splendor, instead of politic schemes, and beneficial acts of legislation.

It was not long before he evinced the extent of his capacity for conducting the empire. On the death of Antipater a general council was held, in order to consult for the general good. The first resolution taken by that court, was one proposed and strenuously supported by Polyperchon. The substance of it was, That Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, should be recalled, and appointed to superintend the rearing of Alexander, the son of Roxana. This resolution was extremely impolitic, and full of danger. For it was to place in an important situation a woman, whose alarming interferences in government had determined

former governors to keep her constantly at a distance from the seat of empire. She had resided for several years at Epirus; and one of the last admonitions which Antipater gave to Polyperchon was, never to permit her to return to Macedon.

But Polyperchon was not guided by the prudent counsel of his predecessor. Not only did he allow Olympias to take up her abode in Macedon, but made her his chief confidant, and, in a little while, virtually committed to her care the government of the whole nation. Though a woman of a violent and revengeful temper of mind, yet she was not destitute of discernment. The deep and often fatal intrigues in which she had been concerned, had taught her the knowledge of men. That knowledge was exerted on the occasion of which we are now speaking; for instead of nominating to the chief command in Asia, one whose dissolute morals promised fair to promote any arbitrary scheme which the court might propose, she appointed Eumenes, who was the most loyal and steady friend which the royal family had. There was much wisdom in employing such a character as Eumenes at that critical juncture. The power of Antigonus had for a considerable time been increasing; one or two more successful campaigns would, in all likelihood, have placed him above the reach of opposition.

On receiving the letters which conferred on



him the supreme command in the east, Eumenes made haste to acquit himself with credit. He had a powerful rival to contend with. Being inferior to him with regard to the number of his soldiers, and also in point of influence in the Asiatic provinces, he was under the necessity of employing the whole resources of his inventive genius. He did so : and he might have been victorious in the end, had not his friends deserted him. He made a considerable augmentation of his forces ; and by granting appointments, and conferring honours, soon found means to gain over to his cause many of the most powerful officers in the opposite interest. The *Argyraspidæ*, a body of hardy Macedonian veterans, who had been presented with silver shields by Alexander the Great, in consideration of their valiant exploits, and who were therefore held in high estimation by their fellow-soldiers, soon became attached to his party. This was looked upon as no slight mark of his superior address, and favour with the military. He was peculiarly careful to avoid giving offence to the higher rank of officers, well knowing, that men who had withstood so many changes in government, who had so much influence with the soldiery, and who, moreover, had it in their power to disappoint his measures, by endeavouring to second those of his opponent, could not be affronted but at the expence of his honour and success. The first step which he took to pre-

vent their ideas of precedency, and their mutual jealousy of being supplanted in their commander's favour, from disturbing the peace of the army, was, to cause a pavillion, with a throne in the midst of it, to be erected; around which throne his officers were to assemble, when any public business was to be transacted. This pavillion was after the manner of that which Alexander used on a similar occasion. Eumenes pretended that he was directed to do so in a dream. The expedient doubtless was a good one. It might answer the purpose for which it was intended; but while it did so, it demonstrated the precarious ground on which Macedonian commanders then stood.

Eumenes was enabled to keep the field against Antigonus for about three years, in which time he generally had the advantage. Antigonus at length, provoked by the obstinacy, and filled with apprehensions at the enterprising spirit of his antagonist, resolved to make one desperate, and, if possible, decisive effort. He resolved to attack Eumenes in his winter-quarters. Peucestus, commander of the royal horse, had secretly gone over to the interests of the enemy. When Antigonus made his attack, Peucestus managed his command in such a way, as to render the horse of little or no service to the army to which they belonged. The infantry made a brave and successful stand against the enemy. The phalanx of Antigonus was routed

by them ; and had their exertions been supported by the cavalry, Antigonus's fortune would that day have been reversed. But they were left to combat alone. Antigonus improved the advantage, and wheeling about upon their rear, threw them somewhat into confusion. Still, however, they kept the field, and by their intrepidity, kept the issue of the battle in suspense, till they were informed that a detachment from that part of the enemy's army which had been opposed to Peucestus, had fallen upon the baggage, and made themselves masters of their wives, their children, and of all the treasures which they had won in the course of their Asiatic wars. This news inspired the whole army with rage, resentment, and grief. They were incensed not only against Peucestus, by whose baseness they had been betrayed, but against Eumenes, under whose command their private fortunes and the public cause had sustained so insupportable a blow. They meditated revenge on both : but first of all it appeared requisite to try to recover their families and effects. In a mean and submissive manner, therefore, they applied to Antigonus to restore the fortunes which his arms had acquired. Antigonus readily agreed to grant them that request, and any other they should make, provided they would forthwith deliver into his hands Eumenes, " who was not a Macedonian by birth, and who had been declared an enemy to the public."

These insinuations, we may suppose, would find ready admittance into the minds of men who were already dissatisfied with the person against whom they were made. The greater part of the army fell in with the proposition of Antigonus ; and, among the first, were the famous Argyraspidæ. Eumenes was seized ; his hands were tied behind his back ; and his soldiers were carrying him to Antigonus, when he besought them to grant him leave to speak. They allowed him a hearing. But though his speech was well calculated to soften their hearts ; though it unfolded to them the dangers they were about to bring on the state, by rendering Antigonus absolute ; and reproached them with the cruelty and injustice of delivering to his executioner a general, who had undergone so many toils for their honour, and for the aggrandizement of the empire, still they remained unmoved. He entreated them to rescue him from the disgrace of being put to death by the hands of an enemy, by doing that last office to him themselves. But he entreated them in vain. He was conducted to Antigonus's camp, his hands bound in the manner we have mentioned ; and, after a few days' confinement, was brought forth and executed.

The late signal success of Antigonus opened a wide field for his ambition. It inspired him with insolence and pride, and filled the neighbouring princes with consternation and dismay.



To ward off the misfortunes which such prosperous events might have occasioned, those very commanders who had lately opposed him, now hastened to make their submission, and to proffer their aid and support. He readily accepted their acknowledgments of his superiority, but was backward in assuring them of his protection. In truth, it was not his intention to protect them. The prospect of rising among the princes of the earth, which then began to dawn, had rendered him interested and selfish. The theatre on which he then appeared, extensive as it was, exhibited too many actors for any one of them to become illustrious : it was, therefore, his intention to lessen their number. Several of the inferior governors were sacrificed ; and his resentment and suspicions would have been allayed, had not Seleucus still stood in the way.

Seleucus had been appointed governor of Babylon by Antipater. He was an able and an enterprising commander. He had always professed himself the friend of Antigonus ; and none that knew him ever thought of questioning the sincerity of his professions. But Antigonus was become a tyrant ; and tyranny admits not of lasting friendship. It vexed him to see any Asiatic commander holding an appointment not immediately derived from him. He therefore advanced to Babylon, in order to extort the submission of the governor. The method he took

to compel Seleucus to come to a speedy explanation was, his requesting an exact statement of the revenues of his province. At this request Seleucus was astonished. He told Antigonus that he had been invested with the command and direction of his province by the court of Macedon, and that, of course, he was accountable to none for his proceedings but to that court, or to those whom it might delegate. Antigonus persisted in his right to have satisfaction, and began to threaten. Seleucus thought it was now high time for him to be gone. With the privacy and assistance of some of his officers, he got together a small detachment of horse, and in the night quitted Babylon and fled into Egypt. He well knew that it would have been in vain to have attempted to oppose Antigonus with arms; and perceiving with what unprecedented cruelty other governors had been treated, he wisely determined to seek safety in flight.

These revolutions were the means by which Seleucus, Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Cassander, were again brought forth into public notice. The last of these chiefs soon came to act a very distinguished part among the governors of the Macedonian empire. The whole influence of Antigonus's family had almost fallen before his power. It was not long before the report of Antigonus's victories had spread itself over every province then under the dominion of Macedon. In Europe the dismemberment of the

Empire was dreaded; and in Asia and Africa little else was looked for than the reign of a despotic prince. All were alarmed, and ready to listen to the advice of any one who was capable of projecting any plan for their relief. Ptolemy was the first who evinced his zeal in thwarting the measures of Antigonus. The news which Seleucus had brought to him concerning that bold commander, confirmed the apprehensions he had formerly entertained of his views. To embarrass and crush him the more effectually, he leagued himself with Lysimachus and Cassander, who joined cordially in a wish to overthrow his power. They were preparing to commence hostilities, when Antigonus resolved to shew them that he was not intimidated by their preparations. He collected his forces with all possible speed; and, before the enemy were aware, the greater part of the provinces of Coelosyria and Phœnicia had submitted to his arms. Finding that his conquests could not easily be extended without a fleet to co-operate with his land forces, he set every hand to the building of ships; and before the end of the year he was ready to put to sea with five hundred sail. The first expedition of this armament was against Tyre, which opened its gates to him after a siege of near four months.

Whilst these operations were going forward, the other belligerent powers were up in arms.

Cassander had led his forces towards the coasts of the Lesser Asia, and had made himself master of several provinces. The news of this reaching Antigonus, he judged it necessary to hasten to the relief of those provinces. In a short time, therefore, he encamped in the neighbourhood of Cassander's army ; but no action took place, Cassander being sensible of the inferiority of his troops, in respect to numbers, to those of the enemy.

At the same time very vigorous exertions were making against Antigonus in another quarter. Ptolemy having levied a formidable army, had reached Gaza, and attacked and defeated Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, who had been left to command in his father's absence. But Demetrius soon regained the honour which he had lost. Having come up with Cilles, one of Ptolemy's generals in the Upper Syria, he won a complete victory over him ; and in a short time Cœlosyria and Phœnicia, which had been wrested from Demetrius by Ptolemy, submitted to the power and government of the family of Antigonus.

The defeat of Demetrius, at Gaza, enabled Ptolemy to support Seleucus in his claims on Babylon. Ptolemy was happy to find so able a confederate ; he therefore furnished him with a small body of troops (all, however, that he could spare), and with them Seleucus marched to attempt the recovery of his government. The



army which he then commanded did not amount to fourteen hundred men, and he was to conduct them through that extensive country which lies between Phœnicia and Babylon, many districts of which were peopled by men in the interest of Antigonus. He accomplished his march; and on his approach to the city, the whole inhabitants ran out to meet him, and to welcome his appearance among them. Thus was Seleucus restored to a command which his abilities and virtues gave him a high title to; and to a people who respected and loved him, on account of the prudence and moderation which he had evinced ever since he had been set over them. The attachment which his people bore to him, added to the vigour of his own mind, secured to him, through the remainder of his days, the possession of Babylon, with little interruption, and of some neighbouring states.

Antigonus and Demetrius were now become the enemies of the whole Macedonian empire, and a general combination was formed against them. But it was not found easy to humble their power. Their activity and resources seemed to be inexhaustible. In Greece the Ætolians and Epirots, spurred on and supported by them, had taken the field against Cassander. Ptolemy had carried his arms into the Lower Asia, and sent his fleets to reduce the Ægean islands that were in league with Antigonus. To

both of these objects, therefore, Antigonus was forced to attend. Lysimachus and Cassander, on the other hand, were making depredations on the provinces situated on the banks of the Hellespont and Bosphorus: there, also, the aid of Antigonus or Demetrius was necessary. In short, they were beset with foes on every hand, and they maintained their cause with an astonishing degree of vigour and success.

The period was now at hand when the Macedonian empire was for ever to be torn from the family of Philip. Its various governors had, for a time, been suffered to act without controul; or, if there existed any controul, it was that of one general over another, which neither could brook, because each thought himself the equal of his rival. Their ambitious views had long been fostering: the commotions of the state had quickened their growth; and, in the pride or the prospect of victory, they were not likely soon to subside. It was not, however, till after a considerable time, that any of them dared to avow his intentions. Every declaration of war, and every overture for peace, was made in the name of the young king Alexander; and if a prince was dethroned, or a country ravaged, it was on account of him and the royal family. These artifices were the more remarkable, that they were made at the very period, and by those very men, by whose perfidy the royal family was daily mouldering away. Olympias, Alex-

ander's mother, had lately been murdered by Cassander; and Cleopatra, his sister, had fallen a victim to the ambition of Antigonus. Cassander having usurped the government, it was not difficult to foresee what would be the end of Roxana and the king her son. They were looked upon by Cassander as obstacles to his power, and in a short time they were put to death by his direction. At his instigation also, Hercules, the son of Alexander, by Barsine, was secretly murdered.

After the perpetration of such barbarous deeds, it was vain to hope that mankind would any longer be imposed upon. The generality of the leading men were convinced of this, and they resolved to throw off a veil through which every eye could pierce. Antigonus was the first to declare his views. He was emboldened by the successes of his son Demetrius. All Greece had acknowledged the force of Demetrius's arms; the island of Cyprus had been reduced by him; and the Egyptian fleet, commanded by Ptolemy, had been totally defeated. On receiving the news of the reduction of Cyprus, and, above all, of the overthrow of Ptolemy, Antigonus was transported with joy, and issued out orders, that he and his son should forthwith be proclaimed kings of Syria.

So pleasing an example was not likely to want followers. Accordingly, Seleucus and Lysimachus, without taking time to consult the inclina-

tions of those whom they governed, gave orders that they should be saluted kings. The other leading men resolved to accept of the same honourable distinction, as soon as the situation of their affairs would permit.

The Syrian kings, now inflamed with the love of dominion, mark out Egypt as the first victim of their power and ambition. Demetrius is appointed admiral of the fleet; Antigonus himself takes the command of the land army. A storm at sea, the sultry heats of the deserts between Syria and Egypt, and the vigilance of Ptolemy, disappointed the ambitious views of Antigonus and Demetrius. They quitted Egypt; and, as the only means of safety, made a hasty retreat into Syria. Ptolemy, after this repulse of such formidable enemies, assumed the title and the dignity of a king.

The Syrian princes, in order to redeem the honour of their arms, resolved to carry them against the Rhodians, on pretence that they had furnished supplies to Ptolemy in his late contest with Syria. The Rhodians had for many years been renowned for their skill in naval affairs. Their commerce was considerable, their soil rich and fertile; the conquest of Rhodes, therefore, would present to the invaders a plentiful harvest, Demetrius having made good his landing on that island, sat down before the capital, determined to exhaust all his ingenuity, in order to reduce it to obedience. Of all the



princes of his time, he is said to have been at once the most ingenious, the most profound, and the most intrepid. In the construction of warlike engines his genius shone forth with particular lustre. It was from the amazing efficacy of some of these that he acquired the name of Poliorcetes, the Stormer of Cities. The Rhodians, supported by their numerous fleets, and furnished with stores from Greece and from Egypt, withstood every attack with firmness, and ultimately obliged the besiegers to draw off their forces. The high spirit of Demetrius was mortified by the unexpected resistance of the Rhodians, and the ingenuity and constancy with which they opposed all the firmness of his resolution and the resources of his invention.

The solicitations that were made to Demetrius by the Athenians, to come and rescue them from the oppression of Cassander, were gladly received by him in such a juncture. He found his reputation declining every hour that he remained in Rhodes, and was extremely happy to undertake an expedition, the urgency of which might serve as a pretext for his having abandoned an object for which such great and formidable preparations had been made. In Greece his arms were attended with more success. He soon forced Cassander to raise the siege of Athens; pursued him in his retreat; and, having come up with him, threw his army into disorder, and obliged them to fly with pre-

cipitation into Macedon. The result of this triumph was, the submission of the greater part of Greece. All the cities, from the straits of Thermopylæ to the isthmus of Corinth, yielded to his prevailing power; and also many cities in the Peloponnesus.

The Grecians, sunk into effeminacy and servility, thought that the interposition of Demetrius in their favour had laid them under an eternal obligation to him, and that they were in gratitude bound to make him the greatest and earliest return in their power. They therefore studied to feed his appetites, and to gratify his passions. There was no sensual indulgence with the means of which they did not furnish him. The orators made the most fulsome and ridiculous panegyrics on his virtues and his victories. The nation at large complimented him on his being the restorer of the liberties of an oppressed people; and, to complete his honours, a solemn convention of the states declared him generalissimo of all Greece.

Had Antigonus discovered and pursued his true interest, he would have availed himself of the defeat of Cassander, to enter into some beneficial alliance with that commander. But instead of that, he rejected with disdain all his advances towards reconciliation. He would not even enter into a treaty of peace with him, though he condescended to ask it in the most suppliant manner. The only terms he would

grant were unconditional submission, and a total renunciation of every claim on the kingdom of Macedon.

This impolitic insolence did not go unchastised. Cassander's influence in Europe was still great, and he had the esteem of several of the eastern princes. But the chief advantage he had over Antigonus was, the antipathy which all their neighbours bore to the Syrian kings. Many of them had already smarted under the rod of their oppression, and all of them had much to fear from their ambitious and tyrannical principles. They therefore joined, avowedly and cordially, in checking the growth of a power which threatened one day to overwhelm them. The confederacy against Antigonus and Demetrius was composed of the Macedonians, the Thracians, and the Egyptians, together with some inferior states. Lysimachus was appointed to the command of the Thracians, and a detachment of Macedonians; and Seleucus to that of the Egyptians, together with the household troops, which had been put under his direction by Perdiccas. Lysimachus made all possible haste in conducting his army into Asia. Before the winter he had reached Phrygia. He made several offers of accommodation with Antigonus, who was then in the same province; but this prince was too confident of success to listen to his proposals.

Early in the spring news was brought to Anti-

gonus that Seleucus was approaching rapidly, at the head of a powerful army. On receiving that intelligence, he dispatched a messenger to Demetrius, to request of him to march to his assistance as quickly as possible. Demetrius obeyed his father's command; and had arrived in Phrygia a very short time, when it was reported that Seleucus had joined Lysimachus. Thus united, the Syrian army consisted of seventy thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and seventy-five elephants; that of the confederates of sixty-four thousand foot, ten thousand five hundred horse, four hundred elephants, and an hundred and twenty chariots of war. Both armies were anxious about the event of a battle, by which the fate of kingdoms was to be decided. Antigonus, who never had been seen to shrink from any form of danger, is said to have betrayed several marks of fear on this occasion. The eventful battle was fought near to Ipsus, an inconsiderable town in the province of Phrygia. It were needless to record all the manœuvres and feats of valour to which it gave rise, it will be enough to say, that both armies behaved gallantly, and acted with a degree of zeal and energy which would have done honour to a better cause. The brave Antigonus fell; the Syrians were completely routed; and Demetrius with much difficulty effected his escape, at the head of nine thousand men. The success of the confederates is ascribed to the



good conduct of Seleucus, who took advantage of the warmth of Demetrius, in pursuing with too much ardour a body of the enemy which he had put to flight. With Antigonus fell the greatness of the Syrian empire.

Antigonus, when he was slain, was in the eighty-fourth year of his age. He was a person of noble extraction. He espoused Stratonice, the daughter of Correus, a young lady of exquisite beauty; and by her had two sons, Demetrius and Philip. Philip died in early youth; Demetrius, as we have already seen, was the pride and support of his father's days. There was no commander in the service of Macedon who had been more in the field than Antigonus: his whole life had been a scene of activity and peril; and he had on all occasions, displayed the utmost zeal and bravery. He had risen from being an officer in the army of Alexander, to be the lord of some of the fairest provinces in Asia.

## CHAP. XV.

REVOLUTIONS IN MACEDON AND GREECE, FROM  
THE DEATH OF ANTIPATER, TO THE FINAL OVER-  
THROW OF THE FAMILY OF PHILIP.

CASSANDER, apprehending the perilous situation in which he and all the friends of the late administration of Macedon were placed, resolved to take some precautions for their safety. He began to reflect on the character of Polyperchon, which being that of a credulous and inhuman man, determined him to act with equal circumspection and dispatch. Besides, he was dissatisfied with the disposition of affairs which his father had made; and was stimulated by his ambition to attempt the recovery of a command, to which he reckoned that he had the best right. From these, and some other considerations of a similar nature, he was led to adopt the following expedient:—He engaged a number of his most respectable friends to accompany him into the country, to enjoy the diversion of hunting. When they had got a considerable distance from court, he assembled them together, and disclosed his mind. He told them, that his true reason for having brought them to that place was, that he might have the advantage of their opinions, in a matter in which their lives and

fortunes were deeply concerned. What he alluded to was, the arrangement that had lately been made in the conduct of public affairs, and the consequences that were likely to flow from that arrangement. He then expatiated at great length, on the dangers that threatened the nation, from the junction of interests that had taken place between the protector and Olympias, the ancient and implacable enemy of Antipater, and of all his friends. He set before them the obligations which they lay under to obviate the misfortunes which might be expected to rise out of that union; and, that they might join with the greater alacrity in doing so, he stated the motives which he thought would induce Antigonus, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus, to become the enemies of Polyperchon. It is not known whether he then avowed his intentions of supplanting the protector, or whether he spoke of only providing for the security of his friends. At any rate, his remonstrances procured him many powerful partizans, in confidence of whose support he resolved to act independently and openly.

In the mean time Polyperchon was busied in new-modelling the government of Greece. He had held a council of state, in which it was resolved to displace all the governors who had been nominated by Antipater, and to restore democracy throughout that country. The edict, which was published on that occasion, is to be

found in the works of Diodorus. The manner in which it is written gives us the highest opinion of the genius of the Macedonians of that period. The body of the edict contains several great stretches of the royal prerogative; while the preamble abounds with protestations of the court's having no other end in view, by the measure enjoined, than to restore liberty to the Grecian people.

This proclamation, gracious as it pretended to be, did not meet with unanimous approbation. The main object of it was, to break the power of the late governors; but the governors did not chuse to submit to a decree, by which they were evidently to be sufferers; they hesitated for a while, and then had recourse to Cassander for relief. The Athenian being of more consequence to Macedon than any other Grecian state, the eyes of all men were turned on Nicanor, governor of Athens. Had Nicanor complied readily, all the ends of the edict would certainly have been gained; the rest of the governors would have followed his example: but, instead of falling in with the wishes of the court, he endeavoured to set their power at defiance. He at first questioned the authority of Polyperchon: when Olympias, some time after, wrote to him on the subject, he devised new causes of procrastination; and he continued to do so, till he had sufficiently strengthened the garrison at Munichia, which he commanded. In



that situation he might have held out till Cassander could have had time to bring him succours: but he was now able to do more than protect his fort. Instead, therefore, of quitting the Munichian fort, as the proclamation required, or of barely defending it, as his friends expected, he sallied forth, and made himself master of the Pyræus.

The people, intoxicated with the ideal liberty which they now enjoyed, and provoked at the resistance made by Nicanor to their beneficent deliverers, determined to take an active part in the dispute. Their fury, always violent, and for the most part misguided, turned upon the patriotic Phocion, and a few more distinguished citizens. Their ostensible reasons for these outrages were, that these men had been instrumental in bringing about the revolution, by which Greece had been deprived of her democracy; and that they were still in the habit of consulting with Nicanor, who was the avowed enemy of the people's liberty. These reasons, groundless as they were, effected the ruin of Phocion, and his friends. Being immediately proscribed, they threw themselves upon the mercy of Alexander, the son of Polyperchon, who was then entering Attica, at the head of a powerful army. By this time, Polyperchon himself was at hand: he had left Macedon, accompanied by Philip Aridæus and was hastening to join the troops under his command to

those led on by his son. Alexander, having heard Phocion and the other unhappy exiles relate their story, was convinced of the injustice of the decree, by which they had been expelled the city. He sent them to his father, with letters of recommendation from himself, and attended by Dinarchus, a Corinthian, the old and intimate friend of Polyperchon. But, in a little time, arrived deputies from Athens, charging them with high treason. Polyperchon was, at first, somewhat puzzled how to act, between the very opposite representations of the Athenians and his son. But interested motives prevailed over those of justice and humanity. He perceived, that to thwart the Athenians, would not only alienate their minds from his government, but give them ground to believe, that he was not sincere in the professions he had published in the late edict. He therefore caused Phocion and his friends to be chained, and sent back to Athens. The message which accompanied them was to this effect: "Though he  
" was persuaded that they were traitors, yet he  
" left them to be judged by the Athenians, as a  
" free people." Phocion desired to know whether he was to be proceeded against, according to the regular forms of law? Being told that he was, he added, "How was that possible, if  
" no hearing was to be allowed him?" Perceiving, from the violence of the popular clamour, that no opportunity of defence was to be

granted him, he exclaimed, "As for myself, "I confess the crime of which I am accused, "and submit chearfully to the sentence of the "law; but consider, O ye Athenians, what it is "that these men have done, that they should "thus be involved in the same calamity with "me." The people called out vehemently, "They are your accomplices, and we need no "further ground of accusation." A decree was then drawn up, and read, by which Phocion, Nicocles, Atreudippus, Agamon, and Pythocles, were condemned to suffer. These men were present: the following were doomed to the same untimely end, though absent, viz. Demetrius, Callimedon, and Charicles. Many of the people moved, that Phocion should be put to the torture before he was executed; but that punishment appearing too severe, he was put to death, without being tortured. When the votes were collecting, many of his enemies were seen with garlands on their heads and demonstrating all the satisfaction they could have felt, on the discomfiture of a powerful public enemy. A friend took occasion to ask Phocion, as they were bearing him to the place of execution, what commands he had to leave for his son: "Only this," replied he very coolly, "that he "forget how ill the Athenians treated his father."

The resentment of his enemies was not allayed, even after they had deprived him of his

life. They passed a decree, by which his body was banished the Athenian territories, and any person subjected to a penalty, who should furnish fire for his funeral pile. One Conopion conveyed the corpse a little beyond Eleusina, where he borrowed fire of a Megarian woman, and burned it. A Megarian matron, who attended on that occasion, raised an humble monument on the spot, in memory of the unfortunate orator; and having carried home his ashes, which she had previously collected with great care, she buried them under her hearth; putting up, in the mean time, this prayer to her household gods: "To you, O ye deities, who protect this place, do I commit the precious remains of the most excellent Phocion; protect them, I beseech you, from every insult, and deliver them one day to be deposited in the sepulchre of his ancestors, when the Athenians shall have become wiser." A short time only had intervened, when the prayer of the pious matron was fulfilled. The Athenians, as in former instances of a similar kind, began to abate of their fury, and to have their eyes opened to the truth. They recollected the many services which the state had derived from the superior wisdom of Phocion's counsels; and on that recollection, they could not but wonder at the part they had acted. They decreed for the victim of their rage a statue of brass; they ordered his ashes to be brought back to Athens, at the public ex-



pence; and passed an act, by which all his accusers were to be put to death. Agnonides, who had been a leader in the plot against Phocion, was seized and executed. Epicurus and Demophilus fled; but Phocion's son overtook them, and revenged the death of his father. This is said to have been the only meritorious deed which that young man ever performed. Entirely destitute of his father's virtues, he possessed but a small portion of his abilities: in the history of his country, therefore, his other actions are deservedly forgotten.

The integrity of Phocion, his magnanimity, and his sober, steady zeal for the welfare of his country, are not surpassed by those of the most patriotic of all his countrymen. Without aiming at the favour of the great, he often dared to stem the popular tide; and without being deterred by the threats of the people, he sometimes ventured to espouse the cause of the few who stood high, but alone. He had as much probity as his illustrious competitor Demosthenes; and he wanted all that enthusiasm which sometimes threatened to mislead him. His opposition to the most popular men of his time, has been the cause of his making so distinguished a figure in the state, and constitutes the most striking feature in his character. It would not be difficult to shew, that the motives from which he acted, were always prudent and commendable. The principle on which he opposed Demos-

thenes, when that orator would have stirred up the Athenians to resist the government of Macedon, proves at once the greatness of his wisdom, and the extensiveness of his knowledge of the real condition of the rival states at that period. It was this:—“Since the Athenians are no longer able to fill their wonted glorious sphere, let them adopt counsels suited to their abilities; and endeavour to court the friendship of a power, which they cannot provoke but to their ruin.” These were his own words. The principle on which he proceeded in that last struggle which cost him his life, argued an equal degree of prudence and temperate patriotism. He was condemned for keeping up a correspondence with Nicanor, who continued to hold out after Polyperchon had tendered Athens her freedom. Had that grant of the protectors been such as promised to confer happiness on the state, Phocion would have sided with the multitude; but he well knew, that the meaning of it was merely to divide the power of Cassander’s party; and as the protector did not immediately support his edict by arms, it was plain that it could not take effect while Nicanor remained hostile to it. Besides, if Athens was not to reap any advantage from the decree, it would have been extreme folly to have superadded to her other evils, that of an intestine broil between her governor and her citizens. He was the only Athenian who was

able occasionally to draw the respect both of his countrymen and of their enemies. He was a rational and a *peaceable* patriot; he wished for the aggrandizement of his native land; but he was anxious that its grandeur should flow from those ingenious arts, which spring from national tranquillity.

Whilst these things were doing, Cassander, who saw no prospect of immediate success by the greatest effort of all the power he could then command in Europe, judged it proper to look for aid in another quarter. He had been industrious to conciliate the affections of his Macedonian friends, and to engage them warmly in his cause: having done so, he thought he had reason to hope for a happy issue to his affairs. He knew how ready Antigonus would be to oppose the measures of any person holding the invidious office of *protector of the kings*; to him, therefore, he resolved to fly for succour. Indeed, his own personal safety required that he should then quit Macedon. The Syrian king received Cassander with the greatest affability and kindness. He did not lay him under the necessity of repeating his request. He hated Polyperchon; and to execute vengeance on him, he saw, would be the shortest and surest road to the conquest of Asia, the grand object of his ambition.

The troops which Cassander received were not numerous; in the hands, however, of a man,



animated by so enterprizing a spirit as he possessed, they were capable of achieving great exploits. He set sail for Athens, and arriving in the Pyræus with his little fleet, was welcomed to Greece by Nicanor. With regard to the new administration, Nicanor was quite of the same mind with Cassander. He had received his government from Antipater ; he had been the first to oppose Polyperchon's edict ; he had been exposed to danger on account of that opposition ; he was, therefore, the most likely person to second the views of his intrepid visitor.

Polyperchon hearing of the arrival of Cassander, resolved to make a vigorous effort both by sea and land. He assembled a powerful army, and marched directly into Attica. This portion of Greece was never remarkable for the fertility of its lands ; the numbers which followed the protector soon produced scarcity of provisions, and that scarcity determined him to alter his purpose of immediately subduing his enemies. He gave to Alexander, his son, a force sufficient to keep Cassander in awe : and with the rest of his troops he moved towards Peloponnesus, where his opponent had many friends.

By this time the fleet commanded by Clitus had set sail to meet that of Cassander ; the latter was under the conduct of Nicanor. A battle took place, in which this commander was defeated, and obliged to betake himself to flight. But his ships being refitted, and fully manned,



by the addition of a body of light troops sent over by Antigonus, he soon found himself in a condition to face the enemy. He put to sea; and coming up with Clitus, as he lay at anchor at Byzantium, he obtained a complete victory. A short time after this battle Clitus was slain, by an insurrection of the soldiers of Lysimachus.

Meanwhile, Polyperchon had commenced his operations in the Peloponnesus. He was determined to see his edict obeyed, or to inflict the punishment which it threatened in case of disobedience. Many had been put to death who had not readily complied with the terms it proposed. So severe and unreasonable were his proceedings, that he condemned many persons, merely because they had held offices under the protectorship of Antipater. He was now acting like a tyrant; and every province through which he passed, was a scene of confusion and blood. The Megalopolitans were the most considerable body of men, who resisted Polyperchon's decree. The magistrates and people having consulted on the affair, resolved unanimously not to alter their form of government. Such a resolution was treason in the eyes of the protector: he declared it to be not only an open insult on his authority, but a tacit acknowledgment of the Megalopolitans being the abettors of Cassander's rebellion, and he denounced exemplary vengeance against them. The Megalopolitans comprehended his meaning fully; but

their counsels had been taken maturely, and were not to be easily overturned. They fortified their city; removed their effects, and all those persons who could not assist in defending their lives; and to the number of fifteen thousand, retired within the walls, determined to make a desperate resistance.

Polyperchon made good his threats: he appeared before the city, accompanied by Philip Aridæus, the king, and supported by a large army. His engineers were exceedingly active; before the besieged imagined that the enemy had begun to work, three towers, with all the wall between them, were undermined and thrown down. Polyperchon then made an attack, which was well supported by both sides; but the Megalopolitans had the advantage. On this occasion, the conduct of the Megalopolitan wives and youths was very remarkable: while their friends had advanced to the breach to face the enemy, they had laboured with all their might, and had almost completed an intrenchment of earth and rubbish within the breach. This repulse did not discourage the protector. He resolved to renew the assault, and to avail himself of his elephants. The thought of being attacked by those animals greatly distressed the besieged: they were, however, soon delivered from uneasiness on that account. There happened to be among them a man named Damides who had served under Alexander, and who had

learned from experience the destructive arts of his profession. He undertook to render the elephants perfectly useless to the besiegers, and the stratagem he used was this :—he caused long pieces of planks to be driven into the ground, with spikes in the ends of them, and over the spikes he threw some rubbish, to prevent the enemy from discovering the plot : this was done all along the inside of the breach. The citizens were drawn up between the city and these machines, and at each end of the breach. The besiegers were now ready to make the attack. They moved forward in great order, with the elephants in front. These animals having got within the breach, found the spikes running into their feet, and were thereby much irritated. The citizens, observing this, began to gall them and their riders with darts and stones. This occasioned a dreadful confusion. Many of the spikes had pierced so deep, that some of the poor brutes, unable to move, fell down. Others were so enraged by the pain they felt, that they turned upon their own men, and trod them under foot. The Macedonian army observing this were struck with dismay, and refused to attempt storming the place : Polyperchon was therefore forced to retire. News of a nature equally disgraceful reached him much about the same time. This was an account of the discomfiture of the admiral Clitus. After such repeated losses he saw no prospect of acquiring any honour in

Greece. He appointed a considerable body of foot and horse to block up the Megalopolitans in their city, and the remainder of his army hastened to Macedon.

Nicanor, loaded with naval honours, had now resumed his government. Cassander, sensible of the service which the governor had rendered him, showed him the greatest attention and respect. They were living together on the most intimate and friendly terms, when it was told Cassander, that the governor had a design of making himself the sovereign of Attica. He had made some difficulty in admitting Cassander's troops into some of the forts; a circumstance which, being united with that report, awakened suspicion, which is nearly allied to revenge. Cassander posted some of his men in an empty house, and asked Nicanor to meet him there, in order to consult about some matters of high moment. Nicanor appeared, and was entering, when assassins attacked and murdered him. The indignation of the friends of Nicanor was roused; but when they considered that Cassander was already in possession of the greater part of the city, and that they were not likely to find a very able second in Polyperchon, in case they should attempt a revolution, they judged it most eligible to submit to their fate. Indeed, the engaging manners of Cassander tended greatly to reconcile the Athenians to his government. His condescension and his gene-



rosity bespoke, in many instances, the submissive negotiator, rather than the successful prince.

Among the first acts of his power, was the appointment of a governor. The person whom he named to that office was Demetrius Phalereus, the celebrated disciple of Theophrastus. Demetrius was at once a philosopher, an orator, and a man of virtue. His science he had derived from Theophrastus, his lessons of virtue and eloquence from Phocion and Demosthenes. The one qualified him to comprehend and encourage the literary pursuits of an acute and ingenious people; the others to check and controul their licentiousness. Cicero speaks in a very favourable manner of his oratory; but then he says, he was the first of all the Greeks who changed the bold, nervous, and resistless eloquence of the earlier orators, into the mild and pathetic species of eloquence; which he thinks is far inferior, in point of merit, to the former, "as the power of the gently-gliding stream is inferior to that of the rough, thundering torrent." His moderation and kindness towards those he governed procured their esteem, and, in many instances, their love. They soon reposed the greatest confidence in his wisdom and integrity; and that confidence he did not betray. That power which he might have improved into tyranny, he used as means of promoting their wealth and grandeur. He repaired their public edifices, and even built some new

ones. He was so attentive to the improvement of their finance, that before his government ended the public revenues were greatly increased. These advantages to the citizens of Athens were repaid by them in the honours they conferred on their benefactor. They erected no less than three hundred statues, as tokens of their gratitude, many of which were equestrian. He was respected and honoured by all, but was not universally popular, having been set over Athens by Cassander, who was looked upon as the enemy of the civil liberty of Greece.

The losses and disgrace which the arms of Polyperchon had lately met, cut off every hope of his gaining ground in Greece, and determined him to content himself with the direction of Macedon. Attica was now beyond the reach of his power, and the success of the Megalopolitans had inspired all Peloponnesus with contempt of his authority. In such a predicament ambition would have been ridiculous: but he was doomed even to a harder lot.

Olympias had been recalled to take charge of the infant king, Alexander, and to sanction the new administration of Macedon by her presence. She was now preparing for her return. Previously to her quitting Epirus she wrote to Eumenes, informing him of her intention of revisiting Macedon. Eumenes, who always had the welfare of the state near to his heart, advised her, in his answer, not to be too precipi-

tate in her return ; and, in case she did return, to endeavour to forget all the injuries she had formerly received, and to try to behave with gentleness and forbearance. The sequel of her story will show how much stress she laid on the friendly admonition of Eumenes. She arrived in Macedon in a very short time ; and, on her presence being announced, great consternation pervaded the minds of the people : even her own friends dreaded the effects of her resentment. Those who had been devoted to the interests of Antipater had peculiar reason to tremble ; but, above all, Philip Aridæus and his queen. Aridæus, the son of Philip by a concubine, had from his infancy been subjected to that aversion and hatred from Olympias, which the relation which subsisted between her and him usually excites. The infirmity of his understanding was said to have been the effect of a potion which she gave him. Cynane, the mother of Philip Aridæus's queen, had been murdered by Perdiccas, at the instigation of Olympias. Amyntas, her father, the son of Philip the First's elder brother, had also been destroyed through her contrivance ; so that neither Philip, nor Eurydice his wife, could be supposed to look upon her with complacence. Indeed they had every reason to apprehend bad consequences from her getting into power, and they set themselves to provide for the worst. Eurydice had more discernment and activity than her

husband. She began to levy an army, calling upon all who either respected the brother of Alexander, their late royal master, or his queen, or who revered the virtues of Antipater, to unite in defending the rights of their country. She wrote, at the same time to Cassander, pressing him to hasten to her assistance; and she gave command to Polyperchon not to take any further concern in the administration, but to give it up to Cassander, whom the king thought proper to appoint. The Macedonians readily armed at the request of Eurydice, and in a short time she was prepared to do more than defend herself from violence.

These hasty proceedings of Eurydice furnished her enemies with sufficient plea for taking up arms. Olympias, ever jealous and watchful, had marked them with attention, and readily discovered the necessity she was under of being upon her guard. Her brother had sent a body of Epirots to escort her to Macedon: to them she added some of her Macedonian adherents, and straightway marched to join Polyperchon's troops. Having formed a junction, the whole army moved on to attack Eurydice, who, animated by the cruel treatment her family had received, led out her forces to meet them. It was her wish to have deferred fighting till she could have been supported by Cassander; but her precipitate conduct in taking up arms had roused the apprehensions of the opposing party, and



by quickening their motions, had rendered the arrival of succour from Cassander impracticable. The armies met, and were ready to close, when Olympias's appearance at the head of her troops put an end to the dispute. The soldiers of Eurydice discovering in her mien all the dignity and awful majesty of the royal relict of Philip, and of the mother of Alexander the Great, were unable to strike a single blow: they quitted their ranks, and went over to the standard of Olympias.

This event proved fatal to Eurydice and her consort. They both fell into the hands of Olympias, who persecuted them with all that unrelenting hatred which belonged to her temper. They were confined in a prison, which was so small, that they could scarcely turn themselves in it. Their wretched sustenance was thrown in at a little hole, through which passed light and air, and all the other limited comforts they were permitted to enjoy. Perceiving that this barbarous treatment had no other effect than to excite the compassion of the people, and fearing that their commiseration would soon be converted into indignation towards her, she resolved to put a period to the miserable existence of her prisoners. She instructed some Thracians to enter the prison, and dispatch Aridæus; and they did so without remorse. He had reigned six years and four months.

This inhuman action being perpetrated, Olym-

pias sent messengers to the queen, furnished with a poniard, a rope, and a cup of poison, desiring her to chuse which she pleased. They found her binding up the wounds of her bleeding spouse, with linen which she had torn from her own body, and paying all that decent and solemn respect to the lifeless corpse which became her deplorable situation. She received the message that was brought to her with the greatest composure, and, after entreating the gods "that Olympias might be rewarded with "the like present," she took the rope and strangled herself. Thus were that hapless pair cut off. Olympias had now gained a complete triumph over both. She had seen a period to the life of Aridæus, whom she had long since deprived of every rational enjoyment, by robbing him of his understanding; and she had completed the ruin of Eurydice and her family, by consigning her to an end similar to that which her violent and vindictive passions had formerly procured to her unfortunate parents.

Olympias's thirst of blood was not yet quenched. She caused Nicanor, the brother of Cassander, to be put to death. The body of Iolas, another brother of Cassander's, which had long rested in the tomb, she had brought forth, and exposed on the highway; and an hundred Macedonians, of noble birth, were seized and executed, on suspicion of having been in the interest of Cassander.

Cassander having received Eurydice's letter, and, soon after, the news of her imprisonment by Olympias, made all possible haste to come to her relief. Upon reaching the straits of Thermopylæ, he found a body of Ætolians waiting to dispute the passage; but expedition being his main object, he studied only how to avoid delay. He had ordered his fleet to follow him; and finding that it was impossible to pass the straits without coming to an engagement, he led his army towards the sea, and put them on board of ships. They reached Macedon before Polyperchon and Olympias had been informed of their approach. Cassander formed his army into two divisions, giving the command of the one to Callas, while he himself was to lead the other. Callas had orders to march against Polyperchon, whose troops had been separated from those of Olympias. He did so; and engaged the protector's attention so completely, that Olympias was left to provide for her own safety. Cruel and inhuman as she had been, she had still the vanity to think that the Macedonians would join in supporting her measures. She had once triumphed by the majesty of her appearance; she could then, she thought, do no less, after having shown what dangers she was willing to meet in order to guard and strengthen the administration of her country. She had many followers, but they rather composed a court than an army. She used several of those

arts of which she was so fruitful, in order to gain the Macedonians over to her cause. She carried through the chief cities, Roxana her daughter, and Alexander her grandson, her niece Deidamia, Thessalonica, the sister of Alexander, and many other persons of high birth and interest. But finding her affairs somewhat desperate, she returned with them and her army into the city of Pydna, which lay on the sea shore, and was strongly fortified, and there shut herself up.

Cassander was at hand. He invested the city by land and by sea. In a very short time the besieged began to be in want of provisions; and the soldiers would have refused to defend the fort, had they not been encouraged by the presence of so many illustrious personages, and fed with the hopes of receiving powerful succours from Æacidas, king of Epirus. That prince had really engaged to support the claims of his sister Olympias; and his army was in motion, when Cassander saw the expediency of stopping its progress. He blocked up all the passes from Epirus, and reduced the army of Æacidas to such difficulties, that despairing of success in their expedition, and even doubting of their own safety, they conspired against their king, renounced his authority, and submitted to Cassander.

Olympias had now no friend to whom she could look for help but Polyperchon; and she



little knew that Callas had put it entirely out of his power to succour any ally. He had been at pains to distribute a great number of manifestoes, reflecting on the injustice and cruelties of the administration, which was then headed by Olympias and Polyperchon; and had thereby so effectually alienated the minds of Polyperchon's soldiers from his government, that he was barely able to defend himself.

The condition of Olympias and her garrison was now become truly deplorable. The royal family, and the rest of the court were compelled to feed on horse-flesh, the soldiers on their dead companions and the elephants on saw-dust. In this wretched state many deserted to Cassander, who treated all with generosity and kindness, those only excepted who had been sharers in the late murders. Olympias again turned her eyes towards Polyperchon: she wrote a letter, and dispatched a messenger with it in the night; but it did not reach him; the messenger was seized, and the design of his adventure disappointed. Olympias, finding that the relief she looked for from Polyperchon did not arrive in due time, gave up all hopes, and surrendered herself and army to Cassander.

By this surrender was determined the fate of all Macedon. Pella, the capital, immediately submitted to the victor: and Aristonius, who then commanded a detachment of men at Am-

phipolis, at the request of Olympias, yielded up the city.

When Olympias submitted to Cassander, she stipulated for her life ; but the kindred of those whom she had murdered insisting on her death, Cassander, pretending that his stipulation related to military execution only, gave her up to the civil laws of her country. The friends of those whom she had slain assembled, and accused her before the people, by whom she was condemned without being heard. On this occasion Cassander offered her a ship to convey her to Athens ; but she rejected the offer. She insisted upon being heard before the Macedonians ; and said she was not afraid to answer for all she had done. Cassander was unwilling to abide the issue of such a trial as she demanded ; he therefore sent a band of two hundred soldiers to put her to death. When the soldiers entered the prison they were struck with awe, and refused to obey their orders ; but the relations of those who had fallen by her resentment, rushed forward, and cut her throat. She is said to have behaved with much fortitude on that trying occasion. Cassander suffered her body to lie for some time unburied ; to revenge, perhaps, the insult which she had offered to the remains of Iolas, his brother. Roxana and her son Alexander were imprisoned at Amphipolis : and orders were given that they should be treated no otherwise than as private persons. Her-

cules, the son of Alexander by Barsine, the only remaining branch of the royal family, was murdered by Polyperchon, at the instigation of Cassander, about two years after.

Not more than twenty-eight years had elapsed since the death of Alexander, and not a single branch of his house remained to enjoy a portion of that empire which Philip and his son had acquired, at the price of the greatest policy, dangers, and bloodshed. Such, to the royal family of Macedon, were the effects of that ambition which had lighted the torch of war over Europe, Asia, and Africa.

## CHAP. XVIII.

REVOLUTIONS IN MACEDON AND GREECE, FROM THE  
OVERTHROW OF THE FAMILY OF PHILIP, TO THE  
CONFEDERACY FORMED BY THE MACEDONIANS AND  
ACHÆANS AGAINST THE ÆTOLIANS.

CASSANDER now began to cultivate the arts of peace; but other objects soon engaged his attention. In Greece, Polyperchon, and Alexander his son, were intriguing with the enemies of Antipater's family, and sowing the seeds of future dissension. It was incumbent on Cassander, as the protector and lord of both countries, to consult their mutual interests. He resolved to go into Greece; and for that purpose levied a powerful army. He began his march; but on reaching Thessaly, he found the Pylæ shut up by the Ætolians, his determined and avowed enemies. The opposition, however, which they made, did not retard his progress. He forced a passage; and coming down into Bœotia, advanced towards the ruins of Thebes. The sight of these ruins, it is natural to imagine, would fill his mind with a variety of reflections. It would at once remind him of the ancient fame of the inhabitants; the fallen splendor of the place; and of the renown of that man,



whose fortune it was to exterminate such a people, and to erase such a city. It is not easy to determine, what motives could have induced Cassander to project the rebuilding of the city; whether it was compassion for the sufferings of the Thebans, or a desire to make friends of that people when collected, and to procure from the world the reputation of being humane; or the detestation in which he held the memory of Alexander, whose acts he was anxious to reverse. The last, in all probability, was the most powerful. Be that as it might, he was resolved to raise a second Thebes: and for that purpose he requested of the Bœotians to assist him in carrying on so generous a design. He also invited the Thebans, who had been proscribed, to return to their native country. All were willing to second his endeavours; and, in a short time, the walls were completed and the principal streets rebuilt. The Thebans now sent into every country to recal their friends; and their city began to assume an appearance of prosperity and happiness. Upwards of twenty years had elapsed since its destruction: it had the peculiar fortune of being rebuilt by that very people who had overthrown it. The main object of Cassander's expedition, as has already been said, was to check the dark proceedings of Polyperchon and his son. Having therefore remained in Bœotia as long as he supposed his presence would be serviceable, he set out for

Peloponnesus. On his arrival at the Isthmus, he found that Alexander had thrown a wall across it, with a view to interrupt his march. But that wall availed him little: Cassander transported his army in flat-bottomed boats; and partly by force, partly by treaty, gained all the principal cities over to his cause. Alexander fled to Asia; Cassander gave his general Molychus, a body of men sufficient to guard the Isthmus, and then shaped his course towards Macedon.

To enter more particularly into a view of the domestic state of the Macedonian kingdom, belongs not properly to Grecian history; we shall, therefore, hasten over this ground, to those events which open some prospects of the declining states of Greece. Cassander experienced, in his exalted station, the inquietudes of sovereign power; he was encompassed by artful and powerful enemies, the Ætolians and the Epirots on the one hand, and Antigonus and Demetrius on the other. Even the death of the children of Alexander added to the importance of his rivals in empire, who reaped, without participating in his guilt, the advantages of his crimes. He died, however, in the peaceable possession of Macedon, and Greece too, now subject to Macedon, a few cities only excepted. On the death of Cassander, his two sons, Antipater and Alexander, each of them laid claim to the kingdom. Alexander had recourse to the

assistance of Demetrius Poliorcetes, who, having treacherously assassinated him at an entertainment, contrived to gain a party over to his interests, and himself got possession of the kingdom. Demetrius instead of repairing the devastation which Macedon had suffered from constant wars, immediately engages in new military enterprizes, on the sides of Greece, of Ætolia, of Epire, and of Thrace. He abandoned himself, at the same time, to luxury, to vanity, and to extreme haughtiness. His court was a continued scene of dissipation and riot. Though of free access to the ministers of his pleasures, he would scarcely suffer any others of his subjects, or even the ministers of foreign states to approach him. The disaffected Macedonians were on the point of declaring against him. In such circumstances, Ptolemy sailed against his Grecian dominions with a powerful fleet, Lysimachus entered Macedon on the side of Thrace, and Pyrrhus advanced against him from Epirus. Demetrius, obliged to abandon his dominions, made the most heroic efforts, but in vain, to regain them. Adversity restored him to his sober judgment, and was the theatre on which he displayed the most exalted virtues. After the expulsion of Demetrius from the throne of Macedon, Pyrrhus and Lysimachus, who had acted in concert in this revolution, now set up opposite claims to the succession, and prepared to support their respective pretensions by arms.

Lysimachus, by open force and secret artifices, soon stript the king of Epire of all his Macedonian possessions. Dissensions arise in the family of the victor, between his different queens and their offspring, which terminate, as is usual in despotic governments, in an act of assassination, which determined the injured party to throw themselves on the protection of Seleucus. This prince met Lysimachus on a plain, on the Phrygian borders called the field of Cyrus. Seleucus was aged seventy-seven years, and Lysimachus eighty. The only two surviving generals of Alexander both acquitted themselves with all the vigour and activity of youth. But Seleucus's fortune prevailed, and Lysimachus fell. Seleucus now resigned his Asiatic dominions to his son Antiochus, indulging the hope of spending the remainder of his days in the peaceable enjoyment of his native country. But he was treacherously slain about seven months after the death of Lysimachus, by Ptolemy Ceraunus, brother of Lysander, in whose behalf he had appeared at the head of an army. Ptolemy, now in the possession of the Macedonian crown, courts the widow of Lysimachus, who still retained a portion of the upper or eastern part of Macedon; and, by offering to settle the succession on her sons, prevailed on her to marry him. But no sooner had this monster obtained possession of the persons of the young



princes than he murdered them, and banished the princess their mother to Samothracia.

Guilt so enormous was soon followed by the just vengeance of heaven. A body of three hundred thousand Gauls having left their own country, in quest of new settlements, after following the course of the Danube for a considerable way, divided themselves into three bodies one of which made an irruption into Macedon. Being refused a certain sum of gold, he was attacked, at the head of his tumultuary troops, by the barbarians, who cut off his head, and carried it through their ranks on the top of a lance. This body of Gauls met with a vigorous resistance from the collected remains of Macedonian valour, under the conduct of Sosthenes. But a fresh swarm of barbarians headed by the chieftain Brennus, cut Sosthenes with his gallant army, to pieces; and having drained all the wealth of Macedon, bent their course towards Greece, which seemed utterly unable to sustain this inundation of barbarous invaders.

But the Grecian states, animated by a sense of their extreme danger, adopted that strict discipline, and those wise councils, which adversity is wont to inspire into the rulers of nations. They immediately brought together what remained of their strength, and secured the defiles of Thermopylæ, that commanded the entrance into Greece. The Athenians, under the command of Calippus, took the lead in this import-

ant service, whilst their fleets sailed to the coasts of Thessaly, in order to support the operations of the army by land. Brennus was astonished at the resistance he met with. Notwithstanding the multitudes, the gigantic stature, and the ferocity of his troops, he was obliged after repeated losses in different attacks, to desist from his attempt to force the pass. He then detached a body of his troops to plunder Ætolia, which, on the south, lay contiguous to Thessaly, hoping that this would occasion a diversion in his favour. Still he was unable to force the pass; and his detachment exciting, by their cruelties, an universal detestation, were half of them cut off. At length the Thessalians, in whose country the Gauls were encamped, wishing to rid themselves of such burthensome strangers, directed them to the path over Mount Cæta, by which the Medians had entered Greece in the time of Xerxes. He directed his march to the temple of Delphi, which he designed to plunder of all its accumulated treasures. But the inhabitants of that sacred city, inspired by religious enthusiasm, made a desperate sally against the barbarians, who, struck with a panic, fled with precipitation. The pursuit was continued for a whole day and night; and a violent storm and piercing cold co-operating with the fury of the victorious Greeks, most of the barbarians perished by a dreadful slaughter. Brennus wounded, and distracted with religious

horror, killed himself. The few who survived having assembled together, endeavoured to effect a retreat from so fatal a country. But the several nations rose against them as they passed; and of all those multitudes which had poured out of Macedon into Greece, not one returned to his native land. Justin says they were all cut off; other historians, that a remnant of them made their escape into Thrace and Asia. On this occasion it is natural to compare the different success of these from that of those irruptions of barbarians, which afterwards subverted the Roman empire. It might be no displeasing or unprofitable speculation, to enquire into the causes of these different effects; what were the comparative degrees of the Grecian and Roman virtue, discipline, and military artifice. This is a field which belongs to the philosophical politician, and it well merits a very particular discussion. In this work it is only necessary to touch upon the means by which the barbarians were repelled by the states of Greece.

The Delphians, as we are informed by Justin, gave orders, in the name of the oracle, that the inhabitants of the adjacent villages should abandon their dwellings, leaving them all stored with wines, and all kinds of provisions. The Gauls indulging their appetites, which were sharpened by want of sustenance, lost, through excess, much of that vigour by which their operations had been generally distinguished.

Mount Parnassus, which stood fast by the sacred city of Delphos, furnished an opportunity of practising with success another stratagem. This mount had many caves and hollow windings. In these numbers of people were stationed, with instructions, on proper occasions, to raise up loud shouts, or to make the most frightful yellings and screams. These issuing forth without any visible cause, convinced the barbarians that they were produced by beings more than human. The vicinity and the steep heights of the same mountain also enabled the inhabitants to annoy the enemy with stones and loosened rocks. This religious enthusiasm, guided and aided by the subtlety of the rulers of Delphos, frustrated the attempt of the barbarians against that sacred city. Their repulse at Thermopylæ must be ascribed to superior military skill and discipline, and to a quick revival of a spirit of liberty, as well as to an apprehension of some dreadful and unknown danger among a people distinguished by a lively sensibility of temper.

The Macedonian throne, after the death of Ptolemy Ceraunus\*, was filled by Antigonus, the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, who married the princess Phila, a daughter of Seleucus by Stratonice. Antigonus carried great riches into

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\* *The Thunderer.*



his new dominions from Peloponnesus; the court was maintained in great pomp and splendor and the whole kingdom began to recover from its late devastation. A body of barbarians, that had taken up their abode on the northern boundaries of Macedon, when Brennus carried his ravages southward, understanding these things, and allured by the prospect of plunder, made a second inroad into Macedon. He suffered them at first to carry on their depredations; but he attacked them when encumbered with booty, and forced them to retreat with great slaughter.

The kingdom of Macedon had scarcely time to breathe after this invasion, when it felt the attacks of a new enemy. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, underwent, from his earliest infancy, a continued series of the most surprising adventures; and by the vicissitudes and the severities of fortune, was trained up in the habits of versatility, of courage, and hardship. Restored to his hereditary throne, from which he had been driven when an infant, he had nothing to divert his mind from the enjoyment and prosperity of his kingdom. But his mind, incapable of rest, knew no satisfaction but in new enterprizes. After various unsuccessful exploits in Sicily and Italy, he had returned to Epire, inflamed with indignation against Antigonos, to whom he had applied for succours without success. He therefore made an irruption into the Macedonian ter-

ritories ; and being joined by great numbers of the Macedonians themselves, he defeated Antigonus in a pitched battle. This prince being still master of Thessalonica and the adjoining coasts, made head a second time against the enemy, but was defeated by Ptolemy, whom Pyrrhus had left to govern his newly-acquired dominions, while he himself pursued other enterprizes.

Cleonymus, a prince of the royal line of Sparta, had applied to Pyrrhus for the redress of certain grievances he had suffered at the hands of his country, from which he was now an exile. Pyrrhus listened with satisfaction to complaints which opened new scenes to his ambition : and while Areus, who had usurped the throne of Lacedæmon, was absent with the flower of the Spartan army, in Crete, at the head of twenty-five thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twenty-four elephants, carried consternation to the gates of Sparta. On this occasion the Spartan women signalized their own heroism, and displayed, in a very striking manner, the effects of the institutions of Lycurgus. The council proposed, in so dangerous a juncture, to send off the women to some place of safety ; but Archidamia, delegated by the Spartan ladies, entered the senate-house, with a sword in her hand, and delivered their sentiments and her own in these words : — “ Think not, O men of Sparta ! so meanly of your country-women, as

“ to imagine that they will survive the ruin of  
“ the state. Deliberate not then whither we are  
“ to fly, but what we are to do.” In consequence  
of this animating address, it was resolved to  
employ the night in sinking a trench opposite  
to the enemy, its extremities to be guarded by  
waggons fixed in the ground, in order to pre-  
vent the passing of the elephants; one third of  
this work to be executed by the women, and all  
the rest of it by the old men, that the young  
men might be in spirits in the morning to sus-  
tain the charge of the enemy. After the most  
incredible exertions of courage on both sides,  
Pyrrhus was compelled by the Spartans to seek  
his safety in retreat. This discomfiture did not  
discourage him. “ To-morrow,” said he, “ we  
“ will resume the fight, when the Spartans,  
“ smarting under their wounds, will be less able  
“ to resist us.” But timely reinforcements from  
Antigonus, and from Areus, obliged Pyrrhus to  
raise the siege. As soon as he had begun his  
march, Areus hung on his rear, and galled him  
exceedingly. Ptolemy, endeavouring to cover  
his father’s retreat, was surrounded and slain.  
Pyrrhus bent his course to Argos, whither he  
had been invited by a faction in opposition to  
Antigonus. But on his arrival at that city he  
found his antagonist, who had his partizans as  
well as himself, encamped near it with a consi-  
derable force. Both parties among the Argives  
trembling at the near approach of war, entreated

these high-spirited princes to decide their disputes without the gates of the city. They both promised to comply with this request; but Pyrrhus, in an attempt to enter the city during the darkness of night, was slain. Of the character of Pyrrhus, as a warrior, it will be sufficient to say, that even Hannibal accounted him the greatest general the world had ever beheld; Scipio, according to the celebrated Carthaginian, being only the second.

The army of Pyrrhus was repulsed with great slaughter; and such was the terror that his name had struck into the Argives, that they considered the deliverance which they obtained from his death as the effect of some supernatural interposition. Antigonus was now seated again on the throne of Macedon. A Macedonian king, master of extensive possessions in the very heart of Peloponnesus, even to those who had espoused his cause, became an object of jealousy. A confederacy was formed against him between the Spartan and Egyptian kings; and, in the midst of their hostile preparations, a fresh irruption of Gauls threatened his country with total devastation. The Macedonians fled before them, and made not any resistance. But Antigonus, the Fabius or Washington of his times, prudently permitted the invaders to exhaust their fury in wild excursions. He hung upon them and harassed them in their marches, led them into disadvantageous ground, and at last



cut them off to a man. The ambition of Antigonus being inflamed by success, he meditated nothing less than a complete reduction of the Grecian states. He commenced his operations with the siege of Athens. The veneration in which that city was still held, united with the idea of general danger, drew assistance from Sparta and from Egypt. Antigonus, however, prevailed over all resistance, and imposed on the Athenians a Macedonian garrison. In the mean time Macedon was wrested from him by Alexander, the son of Pyrrhus, but recovered to him by Demetrius, his own son. Multiplied experience might have taught Antigonus the folly of conquest; but persevering in the career of mad ambition, he obtained possession, through artifice, of the city of Corinth, and lost it about eight years afterwards. The hand of death put an end to his ambition, after a reign of thirty-four years from his first acquisition of the throne of Macedon. His son and successor, Demetrius, maintaining an interest in the different states of Greece, not by holding the sovereignty himself, but by supporting the tyrants that had usurped it: a species of dominion equally important, and less liable to jealousy, than if he had held it in his own name. Demetrius reigned only ten years, and was succeeded by his kinsman Antigonus, a man of justice and moderation, and who avoided all interference in the affairs of foreign states, and that at a time when the

turbulent situation of Greece afforded opportunities which tempted ambition.

The republic of Achaia, formerly but little known, began now to make a conspicuous figure, and seemed to aim at nothing less than the sovereignty of Greece. This republic was of high antiquity: it consisted originally of twelve towns. The first government known among these had been, as in other parts of Greece, that of kings; but in process of time, roused by the tyranny of their princes, they threw off the yoke of kings, and united in one confederacy for their mutual defence against monarchical oppression. It was agreed that all should have the same interests; the same friendships; the same coins, weights, and measures; the same laws, and the same magistrates. These Magistrates were elected annually, by a majority of voices throughout the whole community. Twice in the year, or oftener if necessary, a general assembly, consisting of deputies from the different cities, was held, for the great purposes of legislation and government. The magistrates, who were invested with the supreme executive power, were styled Generals of the States of Achaia. They commanded the military force of the republic, and possessed the right of presiding in the national assembly. The generals were originally two; but, from the inconveniences inseparable from a divided government, were at last reduced to one. A council of ten

called Demiurgi, assisted the general with their advice, and stood as a barrier between the encroachments of power and the people. It was their prerogative also to examine all matters intended to be laid before the popular assembly, that they might propose or reject accordingly, as they approved or disapproved of them. Besides these superior magistrates every town had also its municipal magistracy, consisting also, as some with great probability have conjectured, like the national constitution, of a popular assembly, a council, and a presiding magistrate. With regard to the laws of the Achæans, the most material object in the history of any people, our knowledge is exceedingly imperfect. Such of them, however, as have been transmitted to us, are proofs of their political wisdom.

It was enacted, That whatever individual or town belonging to the Achæan confederacy, should accept of any gratification whatsoever, in its public or private capacity, from prince or people, should be cut off from the commonwealth of Achaia.

That no member of the Achæan league should send any embassy, or contract any alliance or friendship with any prince or people, without the privity and approbation of the whole Achæan confederacy.

The unanimous consent of the whole confede-

racy was necessary for the admission into it of any prince, state, or city.

A convention of the national assembly was not to be granted at the request of any foreign prince, unless the matters to be offered to their consideration were first delivered in writing, to the General of Achaia, and the Council of Ten, and pronounced by them to be of sufficient importance.

The deliberations of every assembly were to be wholly confined to the matter on account of which they had been convened.

In all debates, those who spoke were to deliver a short sketch of the arguments they employed, in order to be considered the ensuing day; and within the third day, at farthest, was the business before them to be finally determined.

The equity and humane spirit which breathed in the civil constitution of the Achæans, supported by a great simplicity of manners and good faith, recommended them so effectually to the adjoining nations, that they became the arbiters of differences among their neighbours. But when the power of Macedon controlled Greece, most of the members of the Achæan league, at the instigation of Macedonian emissaries, deserted the national union, and fell under the dominion of various tyrants. The distracted state of Macedon under Lysimachus and Ptolemy Ceraunus, enabled them to recover their ancient government, slowly, however, and by degrees.



Their towns were small, and ill peopled, their territory narrow and unfertile, and their coasts destitute of harbours, and full of danger. In these circumstances, to enjoy a peaceable independence was all their ambition ; when Aratus, a native of Sicyon, a sworn foe to tyrants, having relieved his native city from the slavery in which it was held by Nicocles, endeavoured to strengthen himself, and the cause which he espoused against the creatures of the late usurper. With this view he had recourse to the friendship of the Achæans, who bordered on the Sicyonian territory, and were the only people of Peloponnesus who were animated with the spirit of freedom. Five hundred and eighty of the citizens of Sicyon had been driven into exile ; and it now became a subject of consideration how to relieve so numerous a body of claimants, a general resumption being impracticable. Aratus, who had been employed by Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, to collect paintings for him, applied, on this occasion, to that prince, who generously furnished him with sums of money sufficient for his purpose. In the distribution of this sum he acquitted himself with such equity and prudence, that both the old proprietors and new possessors were equally satisfied with his conduct. The fame of Aratus drew on him the attention of all this part of Greece ; the Achæan states, in particular, considered him as an important acquisition, and advanced him

to the dignity of General of Achaia. The Macedonian king held, at this time, great possessions in Peloponnesus, and the petty sovereigns of the several cities, were, in general, his vassals. It was easy to see that Macedonian ambition would soon disturb the peace of the Achæan republic: Aratus, therefore, determined to restrain it. Corinth, the key to the whole peninsula, was held by Antigonus. The Achæan general attacked it in the night, scaled the walls by ladders with only one hundred men, the rest being ordered to follow another way. Having gained a footing in the city, he disposed his different parties in so advantageous a manner, and was so well supported by those who were to co-operate from without, that the garrison were obliged to abandon the citadel, the keys of which he generously delivered to the Corinthians, whom he incorporated among the Achæan states.

The emancipation of Sicyon and of Corinth, by a powerful contagion, excited a revolt in Megara, Trœzene, Epidaurus, and Cleonæ. The spirit of liberty caught even Lysiades, the tyrant of Megalopolis, who of his own accord abdicated the sovereignty, and applied, that the city he had ruled might be admitted into the Achæan league. Aratus, ever intent on the truly heroic purpose of restoring the liberties of Greece, after different unsuccessful attempts to give freedom to Athens, at last discovered

that the Macedonian governor of that venerable city was not incorruptible, and offered him his price. The sum stipulated was about thirty thousand pounds, whereof Aratus (who had also expended vast sums in establishing a necessary correspondence in Corinth) paid twenty himself. The forts were accordingly surrendered into the hands of the Athenians, and Athens was joined to the Achæan league. Argos too, by the efforts of this great and good man, was delivered from the Macedonian yoke, and united with this confederacy. Scarcely one of the neighbouring states remained inimical or independent: all of them either entered into alliance with the Achæans or fell under their subjection. The king of Egypt, the most powerful prince of his times, as an enemy to the Macedonian kings, declared himself the Protector of the Liberties of Achaia, and promised his assistance if ever it should be necessary. Such was the situation of the Achæan republic, during the first years of the reign of the second Antigonus. But this splendid face of things was changed and ruined, by the selfish ambition and jealousies of the very parties from whose spirit of freedom it originally sprung.

## CHAP. XIX.

FROM THE CONFEDERACY BETWEEN THE ÆTOLIANS  
AND SPARTANS AGAINST THE ACHÆANS, TO THE  
INVASION OF GREECE BY ANTIOCHUS, KING OF  
SYRIA.

THE Ætolian state, like that of Achaia, consisted of a number of confederate towns, formerly independent of each other, but induced to unite, from a dread of the Macedonian power, in the days of Philip, father of Alexander. Their civil constitution, in many respects, resembled that of the Achæans. Their mountainous country affording them but a scanty subsistence, they made frequent inroads into the adjacent territories, whence they rushed back, with their plunder, to their strong holds in the mountains. Though at this time in alliance with Achaia, they beheld with envy the superiority of that republic over the other Grecian states, and laboured, with too great success, to inspire similar ideas into the Spartans.

Lacedæmon had, by this time, exchanged poverty and hardy discipline for opulence and voluptuous manners. The public meals, that last pledge of Spartan frugality and temperance, were discountenanced by the rulers of the state, and fell into disrepute and disuse. One or two



princes, who endeavoured to stem the torrent of corruption, suffered deposition, exile, and even death. The laws of Lycurgus were totally disregarded. The lands were all in possession of a few families, who lived in the greatest splendor, whilst the rest of the Spartans, stripped of their patrimony, were doomed to the greatest indigence. The efforts of Agis, the king, to enforce the sumptuary laws, to cancel all debts, and to make a new division of lands, were opposed by the rich, and at last punished with death, on pretence of a design to alter the government. In such a situation of affairs, Cleomenes ascended the Spartan throne, a prince who united integrity of heart with martial spirit and a love of glory. He found on his accession, both the internal constitution and the public affairs of Sparta, in the utmost confusion. Domestic distress with its concomitant, despondency of spirit, had caused throughout Laconia an universal depopulation. Instead of natives sufficient to occupy the thirty-nine thousand shares into which Lycurgus had originally divided the land, only seven hundred families of the Spartan race were now to be found; and of these, about six hundred, sunk into abject penury and wretchedness, were incapable of exerting any degree of vigour in the public service. The slaves, too, had many of them perished through want of employment and subsistence, while others had been carried off, in

great numbers, by the enemies of Sparta. Such were the miserable decay of both public and private virtue ! Cleomenes, actuated by his natural disposition to arms, as well as by the representations already mentioned, of the Ætoli-ans, in order to revive the martial spirit of the Spartans, attacked Tegea, Mantinea, and Orchomenos, cities of Arcadia. Having reduced these under his obedience, he marched without delay against a certain castle in the district of Megalopolis, which commanded on that side the entrance into Laconia. Immediately upon this act of hostility, the Achæan states declared war against the Spartans. The Spartan king forthwith took the field, with what troops he could muster, and ravaged the territories of the cities in alliance with Achaia. With five thousand men he advanced against the Achæan general Aratus, who perceiving the resolution of the Spartans, declined an engagement, though at the head of twenty. The retreat of Aratus, determined the Eleans, who had never been steady in the interests of Achaia, openly to declare against her. The Achæans attempted to chastise this defection; but they were routed by Cleomenes at Lyceum, near the Elean borders; and totally overthrown by him in the ensuing campaign, near Leuctra. Pursuing his good fortune, he reduced several of the towns of Arcadia, which he garrisoned with his Lacedæmonian troops. He returned

to Sparta with the mercenaries only, and cut off the Ephori, whom he considered as troublesome to himself, and oppressive to the Spartan subjects, by assassination; a conduct which he endeavoured to justify, by arraigning the unconstitutional establishment of this order of magistrates, and a recital of several acts of iniquity. He now seized on the administration of justice, and re-established the agrarian and sumptuary laws of Lycurgus, which he enforced by his own example. Having thus made himself master of Sparta, he diverted that energy to foreign enterprizes, which might otherwise have broken out in domestic sedition. He plundered the territories of Megalopolis, forced the Achæan lines at Hecatombeum, and obtained a complete victory. The Achæan army, composed of the flower of their nation, were almost all cut off. The Mantineans having slaughtered the Achæan garrison stationed in their city, put themselves under the protection of the Spartans. The same spirit of defection and revolt appeared in most of the other cities of Peloponnesus. In this extremity they sued for peace to Cleomenes; but Aratus, who had for some time declined to take the lead in the public affairs of Achaia, now resumed his authority; and by insisting on such terms as the high-spirited Cleomenes could not accept, contrived to prevent that peace which his countrymen wished for.

Both Aratus and Cleomenes wished to unite all the nations of Peloponnesus into one commonwealth, and by that means to form such a bulwark for the liberties of Greece, as might set all foreign power at defiance. But to what people the supreme direction of the common affairs should belong, was the question. Even Aratus, so much above the love of money, shewed himself, on this occasion the slave of ambition; and, rather than see a superior in power, determined to involve every thing in confusion.

The interruption of the negotiations for peace raised a general ferment throughout Peloponnesus, the conduct of Aratus fired the martial ardour of Cleomenes, and excited jealousies in different states; nor could the Achæans obtain any assistance from the Athenians, the Ætolians, or the Argives. Corinth was on the point of surrendering to the Spartan king; and even Sicyon must have been lost, had not a timely discovery prevented an intended conspiracy. Here we may remark the extreme quickness with which the Grecian states entered into any confederacy that was formed for humbling whatever power preponderated in Greece: a proof that, however their manners were corrupted, their sentiments of liberty and the balance of power were not yet wholly subverted.

Resentment against Cleomenes induced Aratus to entertain the project of calling in, for the



destruction of Sparta, the aid of Antigonus of Macedon. But in Greece this attempt was generally odious, and Antigonus was averse from all interference in Grecian affairs, not being easily dazzled by the splendor of ambition. But the last and the greatest of these difficulties he surmounted, by various artifices, and entered into a compact with Antigonus, the conditions whereof were: That the citadel of Corinth should be delivered into the hands of the king: that he should be at the head of the Achæan confederacy, superintend their councils, and direct their operations; that his army should be supported at their expence: that neither embassy nor letter should be sent to any power without his approbation: and that no city, state, or people, should be from that time admitted into the Achæan league without his consent. From these articles it is evident, that the liberties of Achaia were now no more, and that the sovereign of this country was Antigonus.

This transaction roused the indignation of the Peloponnesian states: they looked to Cleomenes as the only protector of their liberties. That hero, upon hearing that the Macedonians were in motion, took possession of a pass on the Onean mountains, which commanded the Corinthian isthmus; but the Achæans having surprized Argos, he was forced to abandon it, and to lay it open for the Macedonians. The

Achæans now resumed their superiority in Peloponnesus, and most of the cities in that peninsula were constrained to submit to their power. The efforts of Cleomenes to restore the liberties of Peloponnesus, and to protect of course, those of the rest of Greece, equal the most famed exploits of antiquity. But the wary Antigonus, rich in treasure, artfully protracted the war, and suffered his impetuous adversary to waste his force in vain. Cleomenes was forced to retreat to Selasia, in order to cover Sparta. The disposition he made of his forces were consummately skilful. The road leading to Sparta, near the town of Selasia, was confined within very narrow bounds by the Essa and the Olympus hills, of great height and difficult ascent. On one of these hills the Spartan king placed his brother Euclidas, with part of the army, whilst he himself took post on the other. The glen that divided these hills was watered by the Oenus, along one of the banks of which the road extended. The lower parts of the hills, and the opening between them, were secured by a ditch and a strong rampart. Whatever could render the appearance of an army formidable, or add to the natural strength of this important pass, had been performed; and no part was to be seen on which an attack could be made with any probability of success. Antigonus, therefore, encamped at a distance, on the plain below, in order to watch the motions

of the enemy, and to act according to circumstances. Cleomenes, reduced to the greatest distress for want of provisions, was forced to throw open his entrenchments, and without further delay to come to an engagement. All his skill and valour, which were eminently displayed on this occasion, could not save him from a complete defeat. He fled first to Sparta, and from thence to Egypt; where, after various adventures, the loftiness of his spirit, which could not brook the indignities offered to him by the ministers of Ptolemy Philopater, brought him to an honourable but untimely end.

During the absence of Antigonus, a multitude of Illyrians, and other barbarians, made an irruption into Macedon, and committed great devastation. This irruption hastened his return into his own dominions. In a decisive battle the barbarians were defeated; but the Macedonian king, by straining his voice during the engagement burst a blood-vessel. The consequent effusion of blood threw him into a languishing state, and he died in the space of a few days, lamented by all Greece.

Antigonus the Second was succeeded by Philip, the son of Demetrius, the last of the Macedonian kings of that name; a prince only in the seventeenth year of his age, intelligent, affable, munificent, and attentive to all the duties of the royal station. This excellent character was formed by a good natural disposition,

cultivated by the instructions and example of Antigonus, who appointed him his successor on the Macedonian throne.

The jealousy which the Ætolians had long entertained of the Achæan states, was increased by the importance which they had assumed from their alliance with Macedon. No sooner were they relieved from the dread of Antigonus, than they ravaged the Achæan coast, and committed depredations on all the neighbouring countries. Aratus having opposed to them the Achæan forces in vain, invoked and obtained the aid of the king of Macedon. Philip promised that, as soon as he should have settled the affairs of his own kingdom, he would repair to Corinth, in order to meet the convention of the states in alliance with Achaia, that he might have an opportunity of settling with them a plan of future operations. In the mean time, the Ætolians, making a fresh irruption into Peloponnesus, sacked Cynætha, a city of Arcadia, put most of the inhabitants to the sword, and laid the place in ruins. The inhabitants of Cynætha had long been remarkable, it seems, for a ferocity of manners. They were held in such abhorrence by the rest of the Arcadians, that, in some cities, the admission of a Cynæthean was considered as pollution. It is remarkable, that ancient writers ascribe this profligacy to a neglect of the study of music. But, in whatever contempt the Cynætheans were held, the destruc-



tion of their city by the Ætoliars excited a general indignation throughout Peloponnesus; and the convention of the Achæan confederates, now assembled at Corinth, unanimously agreed that the Ætoliars were guilty; and that, unless they should make reparation, war should be declared against them, and the direction of it committed to the king of Macedon. Hence the origin of the Social War, so called from the association entered into by the several states engaged against Ætolia. It commenced the first year of the hundred and fortieth Olympiad, being the same in which Hannibal laid siege to Saguntum, and continued for the space of three years after.

Philip commenced his operations with the siege of Ambracas, a fortress which commanded an extensive territory, belonging of right to Epire, but now in the hands of the Ætoliars. Having reduced this fortress, he restored it to the Epirots, and prepared to carry the war into Ætolia. The Ætolian spirit was not daunted either by the loss of Ambracas, or the threats of Philip. They invade Macedon, and make incursions into Achaia, which they reduce to the greatest distress. The mercenaries in the Achæan service had mutinied for want of pay; the Peloponnesian confederates became spiritless or disaffected; even the Messenians, in whose cause chiefly Achaia had, at the beginning, taken up arms, were afraid to act against the Ætoliars:

whilst the Spartans, notwithstanding their engagements, at the late convention, to Achaia, had now massacred or sent into exile all such of their own citizens as were in the interest of the Achæans, and openly declared against them. For the Spartans, amidst their greatest humiliation, had ever been impatient of the domination of Achaia, to which the haughtiness of that republic had, in all probability, very much contributed.

A year had elapsed since the alliance had been formed against Achaia, when Philip of Macedon, in the depth of winter, set out with the utmost secrecy to Corinth, where a part of his forces were stationed. He surprized a party of Eleans, who had gone forth to ravage the Sicyonian territories, and reduced Psophis, a strong hold within the confines of Arcadia, of which the Eleans had taken possession. He plundered Elis, one of the finest regions in Greece in respect to cultivation, and rich in every kind of rural wealth. He next subdued under his power Tryphalia, a district of Peloponnesus to the southward of Elis, and wrested the Ætolian yoke from the necks of the Messenians. Philip made a temperate use of all his victories. He granted peace to all who sued for it; and the whole of his conduct seemed to be directed by the same generous motives which had formerly directed that of Antigonus. But in the midst of these fair appearances, Philip began to manifest la-

tent seeds of ambition. He restrained the pride and power of his ministers, who had been appointed to their offices by his predecessor Antigonus; and supported Eperatus in the election of general of Achaia, in opposition to Aratus. In order to counterbalance this unpopular measure, and to strengthen himself in the affections of the Achæan people, he besieged Teichos, and, having taken that fortress restored it to the Achæans, to whom it belonged. He also made an inroad into Elis, and presented the Dymeans, and the cities in the neighbourhood, with all the plunder. He now imagined that the wealth and vigour of the Achæan republic were at his disposal; but the new general had not provided any magazines, and the treasury was exhausted. Philip now affected to place great confidence in Aratus. By the advice of this statesman he made an attempt on the island of Cephallenia, an island in the Ionian sea, near the coast of Peloponnesus, and the great resort of the Ætolian pirates. His attempt, after it had been carried on almost to success, was baffled by the treachery of his ministers. He now, following the advice of Aratus, invades and ravages Ætolia itself, returns into Peloponnesus, lays waste Laconia, and, flushed with success, meditates the subjection of all Greece, and a junction with Hannibal against the Romans. Aratus in vain attempted to dissuade him from this project. He sent ambassadors to the Carthaginian gene-

ral, but they were intercepted soon after their landing in Italy; as they gave out, however, that they were going to Rome, they, in a little time, obtained their release, and made their way to Hannibal, with whom they concluded a treaty. On their return, they were again intercepted, and sent with all their papers to Rome. But Philip dispatched other ambassadors, and a ratification of the treaty was obtained. It was stipulated that Philip should furnish a fleet of two hundred ships, to be employed in harassing the Italian coasts; and that he should also assist Hannibal with a considerable body of land forces. In return for this assistance, when Rome and Italy should be finally reduced, which were to remain in the possession of the Carthaginians, Hannibal was to pass into Epire, at the head of a Carthaginian army, to be employed as Philip should desire; and, having made a conquest of the whole country, to give up to him such parts of it as lay convenient for Macedon.

In consequence of this agreement the Macedonian king entered the Ionian gulph with a large fleet, fell down to the coast of Epire, took Oricum, on the coast of Epire, a defenceless sea-port, but from which there was a short passage to Italy, and lay siege to Apollonia; but, surprized and defeated by the Romans, secretly retreated homeward across the mountains.

The Romans humbled by the victorious arms



of Hannibal, were not in a condition in which they might prosecute a war with Macedon ; they therefore determined, if possible, to raise up enemies against Philip in Greece, that he might be employed at home in the defence of his own dominions. They accordingly made overtures for this purpose to the Ætolians, who, confiding in the flattering declarations of the Roman ambassador, hastened to conclude a treaty, of which the following were the principal conditions :— That the Ætolians should immediately commence hostilities against Philip by land, which the Romans were to support by a fleet of twenty gallies ; that whatever conquests might be made, from the confines of Ætolia to Corcyra, the cities, buildings, and territory, should belong to the Ætolians, but every other kind of plunder to the Romans. The Spartans and Eleans, with other states, were included in this alliance ; and the war commenced with the reduction of the island of Zacynthus, which, as an earnest of Roman generosity and good faith, was immediately annexed to the dominions of Ætolia. These transactions were dated about two hundred and eight years before the birth of Christ.

The Romans having thus obtained a footing in Greece, soon extended and established their power throughout the whole of that renowned country. Agreeably to their usual policy, they availed themselves of the credulity, the dissensions, the ambition, and the avarice of the dif-

ferent chiefs ; ever vigilant to support the weaker against the stronger party, that the diminished strength of each individual state might lead the way to the conquest of the whole.

It has already been observed, that Philip aimed at the subjection of all Greece. Aratus, who would have opposed him in this design, he took off by poison. His interest in Greece was now strengthened by the introduction of the Romans ; he was regarded by the Greeks as the champion of freedom, and as their defence against the Romans, whom they still considered and denominated barbarians. Not only the Greeks northward of the Corinthian isthmus, but even the Achæan league, prepared to take up arms in his support. Encouraged by these allies, he acted with uncommon vigour ; he carried the war into Illyrium with success ; marched to the relief of the Acarnanians, who were threatened by the Ætolians, and fortified himself in Thessaly. The Ætolians, notwithstanding these advantages gained over them by Philip, and that they were afterwards defeated by him in two hot engagements, remained undaunted, and prosecuted the war with an amazing obstinacy. The neighbouring states, now jealous of the success of Philip, endeavoured to mediate a peace ; nor did the Macedonian shew himself unwilling to treat for that purpose. A peace was ready to be concluded, when the Romans, deeply interested in the prolongation of war,

sent their fleet to support the Ætolians; who, encouraged also by the prospect of acquiring another ally, Attalus, king of Pergamus, boldly set Philip at defiance, and talked of terms to which they knew he would not submit. The moderation of Philip strengthened the indignation of his Greek confederates against the Ætolians; a disposition which he soon found an opportunity of calling forth into action. Intelligence being brought to him, whilst he was assisting at the Nemean games, that the Romans had landed, and were laying waste the country from Corinth to Sicyon, he instantly set out, attacked and repulsed the enemy, and, before the conclusion of the games, returned again to Argos; an achievement which greatly distinguished him in the eyes of all Greece, assembled at that solemnity. After other vigorous, though unsuccessful exertions against the Romans, he was called back, by domestic insurrections, to Macedon.

The Achæan states, though deprived of the powerful aid of the Macedonian king, still carried on their military operations under the conduct of Philopœmen, of Megalopolis, in Arcadia, an enthusiast in the cause of liberty from his earliest years, and who had been active in bringing over several of the Arcadians to join the Achæan league. Soon after the death of Aratus, to whom he was as much superior in military, as he was inferior in political abilities, he at-

tained the chief sway in the Achæan councils. He saw with concern the humiliating condition to which a foreign yoke had reduced his countrymen, and conceived the noble resolution of relieving them from it. In the character of general of Achaia he improved their discipline, inured them to hardship and toil, and gave them weightier armour, and more powerful weapons. The effect of this discipline soon appeared: the armies of Ætolia and Elis, which attacked them in Philip's absence, were totally defeated. In the mean time the Romans, supported by Attalus, attack Eubœa, of all the provinces of Greece, though an island, one of the most considerable for fertility of soil, extent of territory, and advantage of situation. Philip, on his part, kept a watchful eye on his enemies: his military preparations were vigorous, and not without success. The war was prolonged, with various success, for six years, when the Romans and Attalus retired from Greece. A peace was now concluded between the Ætolians and Romans, of the one part, and Philip of the other, whose successful ambition led him, by a natural progress, to attack the dominions of the king of Egypt.

The Romans, whose policy it was never to have more enemies on their hand than one at a time, had consented to a peace with Macedon, because they were involved in a war with Carthage; but that war being now at an end, they



eagerly embraced the first pretexts they could find for a rupture with a prince, whose successes had excited a jealousy of his growing power. Complaints being brought before that political and powerful people from Attalus, from the Rhodians, from the Athenians, and from Egypt, they readily determined to improve so favourable a juncture. And first, they declared themselves the guardians of the young king of Egypt. Marcus Æmilius was dispatched from Rome, to announce to Philip the intentions of the Roman senate. The ambassador found the king before Abydos, at the head of an army flushed with victory. Philip was not insensible of the advantage of his situation ; yet the Roman, undaunted by the deportment of the monarch, charged him, with dignity and firmness, not to attack the possessions of the crown of Egypt ; to abstain from war with any of the Grecian states ; and to submit the matters in dispute between him, Attalus, and the Rhodians, to fair arbitration. “ The boastful inexperience of youth,” said the king, “ thy gracefulness of person, and, still more, the name of Roman, inspire thee with this haughtiness. It is my wish that Rome may observe the faith of treaties ; but should she be inclined again to hazard an appeal to arms, I trust that, with the protection of the gods, I shall render the Macedonian name as formidable as that of the Roman.” These things, with the cruel destruction of the city and inhabitants of Abydos,

happened about an hundred and ninety-nine years before the birth of Jesus Christ.

Philip, like other ambitious princes, was now on terms of hostility with most of the neighbouring nations. Rome, on the contrary, was in a situation the most favourable that could be imagined to her ambition; Carthage was subdued, in Italy all remains of insurrection had subsided, Sicily, in fertility and opulence, at that time the pride of the western world, with most of the adjacent islands, was annexed to her dominions; and even those nations which had not yet felt the force of her arms, heard, with terror, the fame of a people not to be subdued even by an Hannibal. About three years, therefore, after peace had been made with Philip, the Romans dispatched a fleet, under the conduct of the consul Sulpitius, for the relief of Athens, then besieged by the Macedonians. Philip is moved with resentment, and attempts to wreak his vengeance on Athens. Disappointed in his hope of surprizing that city, he laid waste the country around it, destroying even the temples, which he had hitherto affected to venerate, and mangling and defacing every work of art in such a manner, that there scarcely remained, according to the Roman historian Livy, a vestige of symmetry or beauty. Here we have an opportunity of remarking the contrast between the genius of Athens, in the times of Philip the father of Alexander, and that Philip who now filled the

throne of Macedon. The Athenians, harassed by the arms of this last mentioned prince, had recourse to the only weapons with which they were now acquainted—the invectives of their orators, and the acrimony of their popular decrees. It was resolved, that, “ Philip should  
“ for ever be an object of execration to the  
“ Athenian people : that whatever statues had  
“ been raised to him, or to any of the Macedonian princes, should be thrown down ; that  
“ whatever had been enacted in their favour  
“ should be rescinded ; that every place in which  
“ any inscription or memorial had been set up  
“ in praise of Philip, should be thenceforth held  
“ profane and unclean ; that in all their solemn  
“ feasts, when their priests implored a blessing  
“ on Athens and her allies, they should pronounce curses on the Macedonian, his kindred, his arms by sea and land, and the whole Macedonian name and nation : in a word, that  
“ whatever had been decreed in ancient times  
“ against the Pisistratidæ, should operate in full  
“ force against Philip ; and that whoever should  
“ propose any mitigation of the resolutions now  
“ formed, should be adjudged a traitor to his  
“ country, and be punished with death.” The flatteries of the Athenians to their allies, were in proportion to their impotent execrations of the Macedonian monarch. Such is the connection between meanness of spirit, and the loss of freedom !

A languid and indecisive war had been carried on for the space of two years between the Macedonians and Romans, during the consulship of Sulpitius, and that of his successor Villius, not much to the honour of these commanders, when the command of the Roman army devolved to the new consul, Titus Quintius Flaminius, not indeed unacquainted, being a Roman, with the science of war, but more remarkable for his skill and address in negotiation, than for military genius. The Roman consul, by the vigour of his arms, but still more by the dexterity with which he carried into execution the profound policy of his nation, brought Greece to the lowest state of humiliation. By detaching the most considerable of the Grecian states, particularly the Ætolians and the Achæans, from their connection with Macedon, by ingratiating himself with the Grecian states, whom he managed, after they had become his confederates, with infinite artifice ; by making a pompous, but insidious proclamation of their freedom, at the Isthmian and Nemean games, he reduced the Macedonian king to the necessity of first asking a truce, and afterwards of accepting peace on these mortifying conditions, which were entirely approved by the Roman senate :—

“ That all the Greek cities, both in Asia and  
“ in Europe, should be free, and restored to the  
“ enjoyment of their own laws.



“ That Philip, before the next Isthmian  
“ games, should deliver up to the Romans all  
“ the Greeks he had in any part of his domi-  
“ nions, and to evacuate all the places he pos-  
“ sessed either in Greece or in Asia.

“ That he should give up all the prisoners  
“ and deserters.

“ That he should surrender all his decked  
“ ships of every kind ; five small vessels, and  
“ his galley of sixteen banks of oars excepted.

“ That he should pay the Romans a thousand  
“ talents, one half down, the rest at ten equal  
“ annual payments.

“ And that, as a security for the performance  
“ of these stipulations, he should give hostages,  
“ his son Demetrius being one.” The date of  
this peace was an hundred and ninety-three  
years before Christ.

Flaminius having made various decrees in  
favour of the several Grecian communities in  
confederacy with the Romans; having expelled  
Nabis, the tyrant of Sparta, from Argos; and  
having obtained the freedom of the Roman  
slaves in Greece, he returned to Rome, to the  
great satisfaction of all Greece; and withdrew,  
as he had promised, all the Roman garrisons.

## CHAP. XX.

FROM THE INVASION OF GREECE BY ANTIOCHUS, TO  
THE CAPTIVITY OF THE ACHÆAN CHIEFS IN ITALY.

**ANTIOCHUS**, king of Syria, was renowned for the magnificence of his court, great treasures, numerous armies, military talents, and political wisdom. He had visited the coasts of the Hellespont, formerly subject to the kings of Syria; he had even passed over into Thrace, where he had likewise claims; and he was preparing to rebuild Lysimachia, in order to make it again the seat of government in the countries anciently possessed by Lysimachus. The pretensions of so powerful and political a prince to countries which the Romans had already marked as their own, excited the jealousy of that ambitious people. They gave him repeated notification, that “by the treaty with Macedon, the Grecian  
“ cities, in Asia as well as Europe, had been  
“ declared free; that Rome expected he would  
“ conform to that declaration:” and farther,  
“ that henceforth, Asia was to be the boundary  
“ of his dominions; and that any attempt to  
“ make a settlement in Europe would be con-  
“ sidered by Rome as an act of hostility.” Antiochus, at first, manifested a disposition to peace, and, in order to obtain it would have

made large concessions, could any thing less than the humiliation of the crown of Syria have satisfied Roman ambition. But Hannibal, the sworn enemy of Rome, no sooner heard of his meditating a war against the Romans than he made his escape from Carthage to the Syrian court, and urged him to arms. The Ætolians too solicited him to vindicate the cause of Greece, notwithstanding the delusive shew of liberty granted by Rome, more enthralled in reality than at any former period. Hannibal recommended an invasion of Italy, where alone, in his judgment, Italy was vulnerable. With only eleven thousand land forces, and a suitable naval armament, he offered to carry the war into the heart of that country; provided Antiochus would, at the same time, appear at the head of an army on the western coast of Greece, that, by making a shew of an intended invasion from that quarter, he might divert the attention, and divide the strength of the Romans. The Ætolians, on the other hand, told him, that if Greece were made the seat of war, there would be, throughout all that country, a general insurrection against the power of the Romans. Antiochus, having adopted the plan of the Ætolians in preference to that of Hannibal, entered Greece with a small force, and, being disappointed in his expectations of succour from the Grecian states, was defeated, at the streights of Thermopylæ, by Manius Acilius Glabrio, the Roman consul.

He escaped, with only five hundred men, to Chalcis ; from whence he retreated with precipitation to his Asiatic dominions, an hundred and eighty-seven years before the Christian æra.

The Ætolians having rejected the terms of peace offered to them by the Romans, the consul pressed forward the siege of Heraclea, which soon surrendered at discretion. He was preparing to besiege Naupactus, a sea port on the Corinthian gulph, of the greatest importance to the Ætolian nation, who now decreed to *submit themselves to the faith of the Roman people*, and sent deputies to intimate this determination to the Roman consul. Acilius, catching the words of the deputies, said, “ Is it then true, “ that the Ætolians submit themselves to the “ faith of Rome ? ” Phæneas, who was at the head of the Ætolian deputation, replied, “ That “ they did.” “ Then,” continued the consul, “ let no Ætolian, from henceforth, on any account, public or private, presume to pass over “ into Asia ; and let Dicæarchus,\* with all who “ have had any share in his revolt, be delivered “ into my hands.” “ The Ætolians,” interrupted Phæneas, “ in submitting themselves to the “ faith of the Romans, meant to rely upon their

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\* *An Ætolian chief, who had been active in promoting the treaty with Syria.*



“ generosity, but not to yield themselves up to  
“ servitude : neither the honour of Ætolia, nor  
“ the customs and laws of Greece, will allow us  
“ to comply with your requisition.” “ It is in-  
“ solent prevarication,” answered the consul,  
“ to mention the honour of Ætolia, and the  
“ customs and laws of Greece ; you ought even  
“ to be put in chains.” The Ætolians, exas-  
perated even to madness at this imperious  
treatment of their deputies and nation, were  
encouraged in their disposition to vindicate  
their liberties by arms, by the expectation of  
succours from Asia and from Macedon : but this  
expectation was disappointed, and they were  
reduced to the necessity of sending ambassadors  
to Rome, to implore the clemency of the Ro-  
man senate. The only conditions they could  
obtain, were, either to pay a thousand talents, a  
sum which, they declared, far exceeded their  
abilities, and to have neither friend nor foe, but  
with the approbation of Rome, or to submit to  
the pleasure of the senate. The Ætolians de-  
sired to know, what they were to understand by  
“ submitting to the pleasure of the senate ;” an  
explanation being refused, they were obliged  
to return uncertain of their fate. The war with  
Rome was renewed ; but the Roman vigour and  
policy prevailed in the unequal contest, and the  
Ætolians were again obliged to apply to the  
consul, in the most submissive manner, for  
mercy. The conditions granted to them were

extremely hard: they were heavily fined, obliged to give up several of their cities and territories to the Romans, and to deliver to the consul forty hostages, to be chosen by him, none under twelve, or above forty years of age. But one express condition comprehended every thing that imperious power might think fit to impose: the Ætolians were to pay *observance* to the *empire* and *majesty* of the Roman people.

The predominant power of the Achæans in the Peloponnesus, now became the object of Roman jealousy and ambition. Though confederated with Achaia, the Peloponnesian cities retained each of them peculiar privileges, and a species of independent sovereignty. No sooner was peace concluded with Ætolia, than Marcus Fulvius Nobilior to whom the conduct of the Ætolian war had been committed on the expiration of the consulship of Acilius, took up his residence in the island of Cephallenia, that he might be ready, upon the first appearance of any dispute in Achaia, to pass over into Peloponnesus, and improve every dissension, for the aggrandizement of the Roman republic. Such an opportunity soon presented itself: the congress of the Achæan states had always been held at Ægium; but Philopœmen, now the Achæan general, having determined to divide among all the cities of the league, the advantages of a general convention, had named Argos for the next diet. This innovation the inhabi-

tants of Ægium opposed, and appealed to the Roman consul for his decision. Another pretext for passing over into Greece, was also soon offered to Fulvius. The Lacedæmonian exiles, who had been banished in the days of the tyrants, and never restored, residing in towns along the coast of Laconia, protected by Achæan garrisons, cut off the inhabitants of Lacedæmon from all intercourse with the sea-coast. One of those maritime towns was attacked by the Spartans, in the night-time, but defended by the exiles, with the assistance of the Achæan soldiery. Philopœmen represented this attempt of the Spartans, as an insult on the whole Achæan body. He obtained a decree in favour of the exiles, commanding the Lacedæmonians, on pain of being treated as enemies, to deliver up the authors of that outrage. This decree the Lacedæmonians refused to obey. They dissolved their alliance with Achaia, and offered their city to the Romans. In revenge of this, Philopœmen, notwithstanding the advanced season, laid waste the territories of Lacedæmon.

The Romans, thus invited to act as umpires in Greece, found means to break the strength of the commonwealth of Achaia, by seducing its confederate states; a conduct which, in the eyes of pure morality, must appear enormously treacherous; but which, if in the ambitious designs of states and princes, the certain attainment of the end be considered as a sufficient

justification of the means, must be deemed refined policy. By the intrigues of Roman emissaries too, a party of Messenians took up arms against the Achæans; and Philopœmen hastening to suppress the insurgents, fell into their hands, and was put to death.

During these transactions in Greece, the Romans, jealous of the increasing power of their ally, Philip of Macedon, sought an occasion of quarrelling with him, and, agreeably to their usual policy, encouraged every complaint, and supported the pretensions of his enemies, prepared to plunder them too in their turns, when the Macedonian power should no longer be formidable. The small cantons or communities of Thessaly, in which he had re-established his authority, were now encouraged to assert their independence; and the Macedonian king was called to account for those very outrages which he had committed on the side of the Romans. Commissioners were appointed for the settlement of differences. Philip is required by them to evacuate Ænos and Maronea, which were claimed by Eumenes. These were cities on the Hellespont, which, from their maritime situation, afforded many advantages. The complexion and designs of the Roman commissioners were obvious; and Philip judging it vain to keep measures with men, determined at any rate to take part with his adversaries, expostulated with them with great boldness, on



the injustice, treachery, and ingratitude of their nation. In this temper of mind he wreaked his revenge on the Maronites, whose solicitations, he supposed, had been employed against him. A body of his fiercest Thracian mercenaries being introduced into Maronea, on the night before the Macedonian garrison was to march out, on pretence of a sudden tumult, put to the sword all the inhabitants suspected of favouring the Roman interest, without distinction of condition, age, or sex, and left the place drenched in the blood of its citizens. The Romans threaten to revenge this massacre, and Philip is obliged to send his second son Demetrius to Rome, to make an apology. The Roman senate, with a view to debauch the filial affection of Demetrius, and to draw him over to the interests of Rome, told him, that on his account, whatever had been improper in his father's conduct should be passed over; and that, from the confidence they had in him, they were well assured Philip would, for the future, perform every thing that justice required: that ambassadors should be sent, to see all matters properly settled: and that, from the regard they bore to the son, they were willing to excuse the father. This message excited in the breast of Philip a suspicion of the connection formed between Rome and Demetrius; which suspicion was inflamed by the insinuations and dark artifices of his eldest son Perseus, a prince, accord-

ing to the Roman writers, of an intriguing and turbulent disposition, sordid, ungenerous, and subtle. Perseus and Demetrius were both in the bloom of life; the former aged about thirty years when Demetrius returned from Rome, but born of a mother of mean descent, a sempstress of Argos, and of so questionable a character, as to make it doubtful whether he was really Philip's son. Demetrius was five years younger, born of his queen, a lady of royal extraction. Hence Perseus had conceived such a jealousy of his brother, and was insidiously active to undermine him in the royal favour. He accused Demetrius to the king of a design to assassinate him. Philip, familiarized as he was to acts of blood, was struck with horror at the relation of Perseus. Retiring into the inner apartment of his palace, with two of his nobles, he sat in solemn judgment on his two sons, being under the agonizing necessity, whether the charge should be proved or disproved, of finding one of them guilty. Distracted by his doubts, Philip sent Philocles and Apelles, two noblemen, to proceed as his ambassadors to Rome, with instructions to find out, if possible, with what persons Demetrius corresponded, and what were the ends he had in view.

Perseus, profoundly artful, and having the advantage of being the heir apparent to the Macedonian crown, secretly gained over to his interest his father's ambassadors, who returned

to the king with an account that Demetrius was held in the highest estimation at Rome, and that his views appeared to have been of an unjustifiable kind; delivering, at the same time, a letter, which they pretended to have received from Quintus Flaminius. The hand-writing of the Roman, and the impression of his signet, the king was well acquainted with; and the exactness of the imitation induced him to give entire credit to the contents, more especially as Flaminius had formerly written in commendation of Demetrius. The present letter was written in a different strain. The author acknowledged the criminality of Demetrius, who indeed he confessed, aimed at the throne; but for whom, as he had not meditated the death of any of his own blood, he interceded with the monarch. The issue of this atrocious intrigue is truly tragical. Demetrius, found guilty of designs against the crown and the life of his father, is put to death. Philip, when too late, discovered that he had been imposed upon by a forgery, and died of a broken heart.

Perseus succeeded his father on the throne of Macedon, an hundred and seventy-five years before the birth of Christ. The first measures of his government appeared equally gracious and political. He assumed an air of benignity and gentleness. He not only recalled all those whom fear or judicial condemnation had, in the course of the late reign, driven from their coun-

try : but he even ordered the income of their estates, during their exile, to be reimbursed. His deportment to all his subjects was happily composed of regal dignity and parental tenderness. The same temper which regulated his behaviour to his own subjects, he displayed in his conduct towards foreign states. He courted the affections of the Grecian states, and dispatched ambassadors to request a confirmation of the treaties subsisting between Rome and Macedon. The senate acknowledged his title to the throne, and pronounced him the friend and ally of the Roman people. His insinuations and intrigues with his neighbours were the more effectual, that most of them began to presage what they had to expect, should the dominion of Rome be extended over all Greece, and looked upon Macedon as the bulwark of their freedom from the Roman yoke. The only states that stood firm to the Roman cause, were Athens and Achaia. But in this all of them now agreed, that foreign aid was on all occasions necessary to prop the tottering remains of fallen liberty, which by this time was little else than a choice of masters. Besides all those advantages which Perseus might derive from the well-grounded jealousy of Roman ambition, he succeeded to all those mighty preparations which were made by his father. But all this strength came to nothing : it terminated in discomfiture, and the utter extinction of the royal family of Macedon



He lost all the advantages he enjoyed, through avarice, meanness of spirit, and want of real courage. The Romans discovering, or suspecting, his ambitious designs, sought and found occasion of quarrelling with him. A Roman army passes into Greece. This army for the space of three years, does nothing worthy of the Roman name; but Perseus, infatuated or struck with a panic, neglects to improve the repeated opportunities which the incapacity or the corruption of the Roman commanders presented to him. Lucius Æmilius Paulus, elected consul, restores and improves the discipline of the Roman army, which, under the preceding commanders, had been greatly relaxed. He advanced against Perseus, drives him from his entrenchments on the banks of the river Enipeus, and engages and defeats him under the walls of Pydna. On the ruin of his army Perseus fled to Pella. He gave vent to the distraction and ferocity of his mind, by murdering with his own hand two of his principal officers, who had ventured to blame some parts of his conduct. Alarmed at this act of barbarity, his other attendants refused to approach him; so that being at a loss where to hide himself, or whom to trust, he returned from Pella, which he had reached only about midnight, before break of day. On the third day after the battle he fled to Amphipolis. Being driven by the inhabitants from thence, he hastened to the sea-side, in order to pass over into

Samothrace, hoping to find a secure asylum in the reputed holiness of that place. Having arrived thither, he took shelter in the temple of Castor and Pollux. Abandoned by all the world, his eldest son Philip only excepted, without a probability of escape, and even destitute of the means of subsistence, he surrendered to Octavius, the Roman prætor, who transported him to the Roman camp. Perseus approached the consul with the most abject servility, bowing his face to the earth, and endeavouring, with his suppliant arms, to grasp his knees. "Why, "wretched man," said the Roman, "why dost thou acquit fortune of what might seem her crime, by a behaviour which evinces that thou deservest not her indignation? Why dost thou disgrace my laurels, by shewing thyself an abject adversary, and unworthy of having a Roman to contend with?" He tempered, however, this humiliating address by raising him from the ground, and encouraging him to hope for every thing from the clemency of the Roman people. After being led in triumph through the streets of Rome, he was thrown into a dungeon, where he starved himself to death. His eldest son Philip, and one of his younger sons, are supposed to have died before him. Another of his sons, Alexander, was employed by the chief magistrates of Rome in the office of a writing clerk.

Within the space of fifteen days after Æmi-

lius had begun to put his army in motion, all the armament was broken and dispersed; and, within two days after the defeat at Pydna, the whole country had submitted to the consul. Ten commissioners were appointed to assist that magistrate in the arrangement of Macedonian affairs. A new form of government was established in Macedon, of which the outlines had been drawn at Rome. On this occasion the Romans exhibited a striking instance of their policy in governing by the principle of division. The whole kingdom of Macedon was divided into four districts; the inhabitants of each were to have no connection, intermarriages, or exchange of possessions, with those of the other districts, but every part to remain wholly distinct from the rest. And among other regulations tending to reduce them to a state of the most abject slavery, they were inhibited from the use of arms, unless in such places as were exposed to the incursions of the barbarians. Triumphal games at Amphipolis, exceeding in magnificence all that this part of the world had ever seen, and to which all the neighbouring nations, both European and Asiatic, were invited, announced the extended dominion of Rome, and the humiliation not only of Macedon, but of Greece: for now the sovereignty of Rome found nothing in that part of the world that was able to oppose it. The Grecian states submitted to various and multiplied arts of oppression, without a struggle.

The government which retained the longest a portion of the spirit of ancient times, was the Achæan. In their treatment of Achaia the Romans, although they had gained over to their interests, several of the Achæan chiefs, were obliged to proceed with great circumspection, lest the destruction of their own creatures should defeat their designs. They endeavoured to trace some vestiges of a correspondence between the Achæan body and the late king of Macedon; and when no such vestiges could be found, they determined that fiction should supply the place of evidence. Caius Claudius, and Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, were sent as commissioners from Rome, to complain that some of the first men of Achaia had acted in concert with Macedon. At the same time they required, that all who were in such a predicament should be sentenced to death: promising that after a decree for that purpose should be enacted, they would produce the names of the guilty. "Where," exclaimed the assembly, "would be the justice of such a proceeding? First name the persons you accuse, and make good your charge." "I name then," said the commissioner, "all those who have borne the office of chief magistrate of Achaia, or been the leaders of your armies." "In that case," answered Xeno, an Achæan nobleman, "I too shall be accounted guilty, for I have commanded the armies of Achaia, and yet I am ready to prove



“ my innocence, either here, or before the senate of Rome.” “ You say well,” replied one of the Roman commissioners, laying hold on his last words, “ let the senate of Rome then be the tribunal before which you shall answer.” A decree was framed for this end, and above a thousand Achæan chiefs were transported into Italy, an hundred and sixty-three years before Christ.

## CHAP. XXI.

FROM THE CAPTIVITY OF THE ACHÆAN CHIEFS, TO  
THE SACKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE TURKS.

THE transportation of the leaders of Achaia, may justly be considered as the captivity of Greece. The only barrier that remained against the tyranny of Rome was now removed. The noblest leaders and ablest counsellors of the Achæans being taken away, the strength of that confederacy was broken, their councils being henceforth unstable and turbulent; and, lest it should ever be restored, the Romans were careful to encourage faction and dissensions among the different states that composed it; holding out, with all the success they could wish for, in the name of the Roman Senate, protection and assistance to all who should consent to be dismembered from that body. A general ferment prevailed throughout all Greece. There was scarcely a single state or city that was not tainted with corruption, or torn in pieces by discord. The Roman policy and arms easily prevailed over the feeble resentment of an effeminate, corrupt and divided people. It was in vain that the Achæans, who may be styled the last nation of the Greeks, provoked by the perfidy of Rome, made an attempt to vindicate their

liberty by arms. The Achæan constitution was, at length, finally dissolved by a Roman decree, and the several states and cities which composed the league declared distinct and independent. Popular assemblies were abolished throughout the whole of Peloponnesus, and what small share of administration the natives were permitted to retain, was transferred from the people to a few whose estates the Romans considered as a pledge of their obedience; and, lest any individual should acquire an influence that might be troublesome to Rome, they not only took care to impoverish the more opulent families by fines and severe taxations, but also prescribed bounds, beyond which a Grecian should not increase his possessions. Greece was now reduced to a Roman province, known by the name of Achaia, in which were comprized Peloponnesus, Attica, Bœotia, Phocis, and all that part of Greece lying to the south of Epire and Thessaly. The countries to the north of that line, to the utmost limits of the Macedonian monarchy, was the province of Macedon.

Greece, now sunk in that mass of nations which composed the Roman empire, had lost every vestige of national existence; and while she was excluded from all participation in the prosperity of her conquerors, she shared deeply in their misfortunes. Mithridates, king of Pontus, the ablest and most enterprising prince that ever took up arms against Rome, defeated

the Roman generals, and excited a general massacre of the Romans and Italians throughout Asia. The Grecians groaning under the Roman yoke, arranged themselves under the banners of so formidable an enemy to their oppressors. But the armies of Mithridates are at last defeated by the vigour, the resources, and the ability of Sylla; and the Grecian states, above all Athens and Bœotia, satiate the vengeance of the furious conqueror. The calamities of the Mithridatic war were soon followed by the depredations of the Cilician corsairs, who gradually rose to a degree of power that seemed to promise nothing less than the dominion of the Mediterranean. They not only attacked ships, but also assailed towns and islands. They were masters of a thousand gallies, completely equipped; and the cities of which they were in possession amounted to four hundred. For a period of near forty years they had continued to ravage Greece, when they were at last reduced to unconditional submission, and dispersed in different inland countries by Pompey. Greece was so depopulated in consequence of these calamities, that it was found expedient, in order to re-people the country, to transport a considerable body of these pirates into Peloponnesus. The civil wars of Rome drenched Greece with blood; and when that war was concluded, whoever had not appeared on the side of the victor was considered as his enemy.



Greece, in common with the other Roman provinces, had suffered many oppressions under the emperors, and from the repeated invasions of barbarians, when the accession of Constantine the Great to the imperial throne, seemed to promise to the Grecian annals a new æra of glory. Having subdued or quieted all his enemies, he made choice of the confines of Greece for his place of residence; and the shores of the Thracian Bosphorus, where the Grecian colony of the Byzantines had been planted, now gave a new capital to the world. The conversion of this monarch to the Christian faith, was followed by a rapid diffusion of the gospel throughout the empire. In Greece it served to prove that the Grecian character had, in some respects, out-lived those moral causes which undoubtedly had the principal share in forming it. In their theological disputes they displayed all that versatility of genius, that quickness of wit, that never-ceasing curiosity, and fondness for disputation, which distinguished the Greeks in the most flourishing period of their history. Constantine, by dividing his dominions among his three sons, involved the empire in the flames of civil war. The fortune of Constantius prevailed, and raised him to undivided empire. Julian supplanted Constantius on the imperial throne, by means of the favour of the soldiers. This was the famous apostate from the Christian faith to paganism, in which

he either was or pretended to be; as great a bigot as he had been before zealous in the Christian cause. Philosophy still flourished in Athens; and here it was that the mind of Julian, who pursued his studies there before he was raised to the empire, with infinite application, was alienated from the true religion, which he overturned, and re-established paganism in its stead. The successors of Julian restored the religion of the gospel, but not the public prosperity, undermined by the despotism of a military government, and a general pusillanimity and profligacy of manners. These invited attacks on the empire on every side. Jovian was forced to yield a considerable territory to the Persian monarch. In Britain the Roman ramparts were opposed in vain to the hardy valour of the north: even the legionary troops had been found unable to sustain the shocks of the unconquered Caledonians. The German tribes renewed their inroads into Gaul. Africa rebelled; and a spirit of discontent and insurrection began to appear among the barbarian tribes on the Danube. In the reign of the emperor Valens, the Huns, a new tribe of barbarians, in manners and aspect more horrid than any that had hitherto appeared on the Roman frontiers, plundered and drove from their settlements the Gothic tribes on the further side of the Danube. Gratian, nephew and heir to Valens, shared the empire with Theodosius, whom the calamities of the

times raised to the possession of the whole. The abilities and personal valour of this prince bestowed on the empire an appearance of vigour during his reign: but his sons, Arcadius and Honorius, between whom he divided the empire, brought up in the bosom of a luxurious palace, and sunk in effeminacy, were unequal to the task of governing an empire weakened by division. The reign of Honorius concluded the Roman empire in the East. Alaric, the Gothic chief, who five and twenty years before, deemed it an honour to bear arms on the side of the empire, was adorned with the imperial purple. Augustulus, the last Roman who was graced with the imperial dignity at Rome, was compelled to abdicate the Western Empire by Odoacer, king of the Heruli, about the year of Christ four hundred and seventy-five.

Amidst the calamities which attended and followed after this revolution, Greece saw her magnificent cities laid in ruins, her numerous towns levelled with the ground, and those monuments of her glory, which had hitherto escaped barbarian outrage, defaced and overthrown: while the wretched descendants of men who blessed the nation with science and art, were either enslaved by the invaders, or led into captivity, or slaughtered by the swords of barbarians. Without inhabitants, or cultivation, and buried as it were in ruins, Greece was too insignificant to be an object of ambition, and

left to the possession of any of the rovers or those days who chose to make a temporary settlement in that desolated country. Constantinople itself, during the greater part of this gloomy period, retained little more than a shadow of greatness. The chief inhabitants were those families who, during the incursions of the barbarians, had made their escape to the mountains. Such was the state of Greece, with little variation, from the Gothic invasion to the final overthrow of the Eastern Empire by the Ottoman arms, in the year of the Christian æra one thousand four hundred and fifty-three.

But in the midst of war, devastation, and slavery, Greece continued long to be the seat of Philosophy and the fine arts. Whatever conjectures may be formed concerning the advancement of science in India and in Egypt, it is certain that Greece was the country which enlightened, exalted, and adorned the rest of Europe, and set an example of whatever is beautiful and great to the nations. It was the genius of Greece that formed those very politicians and heroes who first bent her lofty spirit under the yoke of foreign dominion. It was in Thebes, under the tuition of Epaminondas that Philip, the son of Amyntas, was trained to a love of glory, and all those arts and accomplishments of both peace and war, by which it is best attained. It was a Grecian philosopher that taught Alexander how to manage the passions,



and govern the minds of men; while the writings of Homer, by a most powerful contagion, inspired his mind with a contempt of danger and death in the pursuit of glory. His captains, who succeeded him in the government of his dismembered empire, were, as well as himself, instructed in the literature and the philosophy of Greece. The Macedonian vigour was fortified and directed by Grecian invention. As the light of Greece illuminated her Macedonian, so it spread over her Roman conquerors. Philosophy, literature, and arts, began to follow glory and empire to Rome in the times of Sylla and Lucullus; and, in their progress, drew to different schools every man of rank, and, as we would say, of fashion, in Italy. Wealth, luxury, corruption, and, at last, tyranny, banished it from Rome; but while it lasted, it made up, in some degree, for the want of liberty; and, if it was unable to resist oppressive power, it sustained the mind in the midst of sufferings. The Stoic, with an erect countenance, beheld the instruments of his death, submitting to the will of fate, and acquiescing in the order of the universe, of which, living or dead, he could not but form a portion. Even in the worst of times, when the Roman empire was in the last period of its decline, amidst the ruins of the ancient world, distracted by internal divisions, and torn to pieces by the incursions of barbarous nations from the east, north, and south, a succession of

ingenious, learned and contemplative minds, transmitted the sacred light of truth (which, like the sun, though eclipsed or obscured, never deserts the world) from one age to another. After the invasion of Egypt by the Saracens, and the destruction of the library of Alexandria, then the seat of literature and science, the only place where philosophy remained was Constantinople. Here the ancient metaphysical disputes were revived, and passed into, or rather formed, theological controversy. This divided and distracted the capital of the Eastern Empire, at the very time when it was besieged by the Turks. Even under the dominion of those bigotted and indocile barbarians, the Greek learning and philosophy are not wholly extinguished in Greece. In the patriarch's university of Constantinople the sciences are taught in the ancient Greek language, and in the same language the professors converse with their scholars.

The learned Greeks who fled from Constantinople, when it was taken by the Turks, into Italy, found protection not more comfortable to themselves than auspicious to learning and philosophy, in the Medici of Florence, and in pope Leo the Tenth of the same family. The Greek language became so fashionable in Italy, that even the ladies understood it, and spoke it. In general the Greek philosophy was cultivated in Italy about a century after the revival of literature, and taught particularly by the Jesuits with

great diligence and success. From Italy the arts and sciences spread over France; and so late as the middle, or rather a more advanced period of the last century.

The modern Greeks, without the least political importance, and sunk in slavery to a military government, retain but little of their original character. The gradations by which that character faded away are clearly discernible in their history, and present to the attentive eye a speculation of great curiosity and importance. The relaxation of manners gradually undermined the political institutions of the leading states of Greece, and the complete subversion of these, re-acting on manners, accelerated the declination of virtue. Simplicity, modesty, temperance, sincerity, and good faith, fled first: the last of the virtues that took its flight was military valour. Still, however, the ardent temper of the Greeks burst forth on various occasions; still they were distinguished by a quick sensibility to benefits and to injuries, hasty resolutions, and hasty repentance. Tyranny too effectually quieted this tumult of passion; the oppressed Greek, humbled to the dust, was forced to kiss the hand that was lifted up for his destruction. A quickness of invention, an acuteness of judgment, a subtlety in argumentation, have survived the extinction of virtue

and a characteristical hastiness of temper. These are still to be found in the disputations of the schools, and the profound, though dishonourable, artifices of the Grecian merchants,



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*THE END.*













